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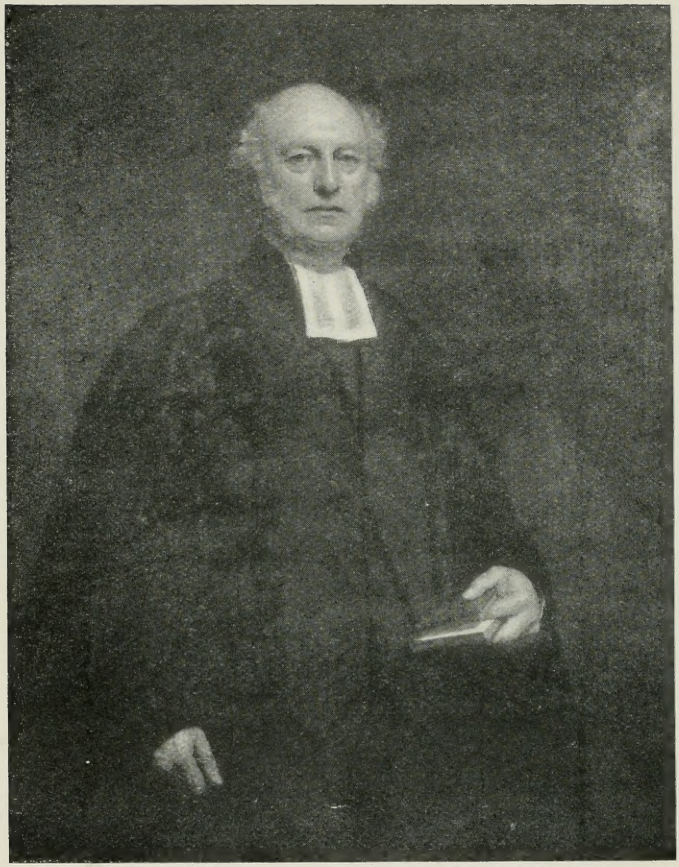

JOHN GRAHAM GILBERT PINXIT, 1859

MATTHEW LEISHMAN, D.D.

MATTHEW LEISHMAN
OF GOVAN

AND

THE MIDDLE PARTY OF 1843

A PAGE FROM SCOTTISH CHURCH LIFE AND HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

JAMES FLEMING LEISHMAN, M.A.

AUTHOR OF
"A Son of Knox and Other Studies"

Govan Sarcophagus

168593.
16/1/22.

PAISLEY: ALEXANDER GARDNER
Publisher by Appointment to the late Queen Victoria

1921

London
Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd.

PRINTED BY ALEXANDER GARDNER, PAISLEY

TO

MY CHILDREN

"WALK ABOUT ZION, AND GO ROUND ABOUT HER: TELL THE TOWERS THEREOF. MARK YE WELL HER BULWARKS, CONSIDER HER PALACES; THAT YE MAY TELL IT TO THE GENERATION FOLLOWING."

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PREFACE

THE following pages were written with the dual object of furnishing a Sketch of my Grandfather's life and, at the same time, supplying a brief history of the Middle Party within the Church of Scotland which he led from 1842 onwards. The volume had its genesis in a lecture—eighth of a series instituted to perpetuate the memory of Dr. John Macleod, the immediate successor of Dr. Leishman in the Parish Church of St. Constantine at Govan. For such a retrospect as is here attempted the time seems opportune. Exactly a century has elapsed since MATTHEW LEISHMAN knelt on the clay floor of Govan Church to receive "*the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*"; and now that the "tranquilizing mould" covers the heads of all the chief actors in the Disruption period, while distance enables us to obtain a truer perspective, testimonies accumulate as to the value of the work done by the once maligned "Forty."

For assuming the task of chronicler the writer may plead the possession of original documents, eked out by personal recollections of the central figure and his intimates gained in boyhood during several winters spent under the roof of Govan Manse and two golden summers at Sunnyside.

For much valued assistance, rendered on special points, my indebtedness is gratefully acknowledged to various friends named in the body of the work.

Thanks are also due to my kinsman, Charles B. Boog Watson, Esq., for family traditions and a budget of Matthew Leishman's college correspondence; to the Misses Samuel for letters of their grand-uncle, Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton; to Miss J. H. Duncan for the MS. Journal of Dr. William Muir; and to the Right Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T., for access to a collection of interesting letters to and from his father, Robert Bruce of Kennet, touching the Church question.

These acknowledgments would be incomplete without mention of my wife, whose ever-ready help in the transcription and adjustment of family papers has been of the greatest assistance.

It only remains to express my very warm thanks to the Rev. Roger S. Kirkpatrick, B.D., whose varied learning and intimate knowledge of Govan have been of invaluable service when brought to bear upon the correction of the proof sheets.

J. F. L.

Manse of Linton,
Easter, 1921.

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MATTHEW LEISHMAN OF GOVAN

CHAPTER I

Birth, Parentage and Early Days: 1794—1812

"In England . . . now, no one there regards pedigree in anything but a horse." Sheridan.[1]

MATTHEW LEISHMAN of Govan, leader of the Middle Party within the Church of Scotland in 1843, was born at Paisley, on 27th April, 1794, and christened five days later. The rambling, old-fashioned house in which he first saw the light, with its cobbled court, storm windows, and stone turret stairway, was said, at the time of its demolition in the autumn of 1903, to be one of the oldest houses in Paisley. Hard by stood the home of his cousin, John Wilson, "Christopher North," his senior by nine years. Matthew was the second son of Thomas Leishman, corn merchant, and Janet Robertson, Foxbar, whose family came from the Struan district of Perthshire. His maternal grandmother,

[1] *Duenna* 1795.

Janet M'Arthur,[2] was a native of Luss on Loch Lomond. From his mother Matthew Leishman inherited a legacy of piety and good looks. She was a woman of singular beauty, and Graham Gilbert, "the Scottish Venetian," used to lament that he had never had an opportunity of transferring her features, as he did those of her son, to his glowing canvas. Her great-grandfather, William Park, merchant and Bailie in Paisley, was one of two hostages held in pawn by Prince Charles Edward for a fine of £1,000 levied on the town, but afterwards reduced by one half, thanks chiefly to Park's intercession. One can picture the civic magnates, "Park with his snow-white locks" (he was then seventy-eight) and his companion Bailie Kyle, only three years his junior, "pleading the poverty of the Burgh." Their interview with the Prince took place at Glasgow, within the town house of MacDowall of Castle-Semple, on Monday, 30th December, 1745, when Charles was attended by his secretary, John Murray of Broughton, and his under secretary, Lumisden. For three days William Park lay under arrest, till the fine was paid. A copy of the receipt for £500 granted him on this occasion still exists.[3]

Many a stirring tale Matthew Leishman had to

[2] Abbreviated apparently later to Arthur. William Arthur (d. 1799), Matthew Leishman's uncle by marriage, was youngest brother of Archibald Arthur, successor in 1780 to Dr. Thomas Reid in the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. Professor Arthur was preacher on the occasion of Edmund Burke's installation as Lord Rector. From William Arthur sprang the present Carlung family. See *Burke*. GLENARTHUR and APPENDIX E.

[3] See APPENDIX A.

JANET ROBERTSON (MRS. LEISHMAN)

1717 1754

ns page 11

tell in after years of the Jacobite "rising," gleaned from the recollections of his mother and grandmother.

The Highland host, in retreat from Derby, reached Glasgow on Christmas day 1745. "My mother told me," writes Leishman, "that a party of the rebels passed through Paisley on the Sunday morning following, on their way to Blackstone House,[4] which they plundered, and immediately retraced their steps. This occurred during the hours of Divine service, and one of the ministers of the town, observing his congregation in a state of great commotion, and that a number were leaving the church, enquired of some one the cause. On being informed, he requested the people to compose themselves and keep their seats. 'Tis merely a mad bull,' said he, 'making his way through the town.' My grandmother was then residing for her education with her aunt, Mrs. Miller, wife to Captain Miller of Westergate, who gave the name to Miller Street, Glasgow. She remembered a '*forpit*'[5] measure full of gold pieces which stood behind the hall door, a part of the town ransom. Five soldiers of the rebel army were billeted on them. Three were tall, strong fellows, the fourth an old man, the fifth a mere youth. Captain Miller being absent on duty with the Glasgow Regiment at Falkirk, an officer belonging to the rebel army came to the house and demanded arms. Mrs. Miller did not admit to the possession of any, but one of the female servants, thinking to appease them,

[4] Residence of Captain Napier, an active Hanoverian.
[5] Fourth part of a peck.

produced an old rusty sword which had been stowed away somewhere in the open roof of the kitchen. On seeing it, the rebel officer, who was employed searching, unsuccessfully, every corner of the house, turned to Mrs. Miller, and said: 'You see, your own servant has convicted you.' This servant in her way was quite a heroine. One of the soldiers declared his conviction that there was a party in the house concealed for the purpose of assassinating them. In a state of great excitement he drew his sword and was rushing up the stair threatening to kill anyone he should find there, when this domestic courageously barred the way, affirming he should not move one step up there, and suiting the action to the word, took hold of the poor Highlander's kilt, and to his dismay pulled him down to the bottom of the stair. Bailie Park, as the chief hostage, was kept in confinement at Glasgow under the eye of Lord Kilmarnock, but Bailie Kyle enjoyed a certain degree of liberty. Calling on Mrs. Miller on the evening of the Prince's birthday" [31st December], "he saw her give her guests a bottle of spirits to drink their Prince's health. He also saw her proceed to cut large slices from an English cheese for their supper. Kyle suggested she was cutting a great deal too much, better let them have the whole cheese then they might take what they wanted. This was done. Judge of Mrs. Miller's dismay, as a careful housewife, when one of the rebels, unsheathing his dirk, held her good cheese to the fire and, as it became sufficiently roasted, he and his friends proceeded to devour it wholesale."

William Park lived in an "ashlar fronted house opposite Bailie Moody's[6] in the High Street." The Parks, originally English merchants, came from the neighbourhood of Bristol to settle on the banks of the Cart. They were people of some substance. Robert Park, incumbent of Foulden, near Berwick, who died on Christmas day, 1754, was laird of Wooden and other lands[7] near Kelso, besides owning a tenement in St. Mirin's[8] Wynd, under the shadow of Paisley Abbey. He married the daughter of James Ramsay, Minister of Kelso, an oracle of the Moderate party who twice sat in the Moderator's chair, dying father of the Church in 1749. To his "most illustrious shade," Dr. Witherspoon of Beith dedicated his *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*.[9]

If the surname Leishman be, as some maintain, a variation of the clan name M'Leish, Matthew Leishman must have owned a double strain of Celtic blood. The earliest discoverable bearer of

[6] See *Life of Dr. Moody Stewart.*

[7] Kaimknowe in the parish of Kelso, Middlemost Walls in Sprouston, and Hutton Knowehead in the Merse. *Test. Dat.*, 6 February, 1659. For Scott's early associations with Wooden, see *Comrades of the Wizard. Glasgow Herald*, 24 May, 1913.

[8] Mirin, Disciple of St. Comgall, shared with St. James the Apostle the patronage of Paisley. In Leishman's childhood St. Mirin's Day, September 15th, was marked by a Fair.

[9] The author of this witty brochure, which ran into eleven editions, went overseas in August, 1768. He became President of Princeton and was one of the Signatories of the Declaration of American Independence. To-day ex-President Woodrow Wilson claims him as an ancestor.

Another collateral descendant who sustains within the Scottish Church the family tradition of ripe scholarship is the Rev. Henry J. Wotherspoon, D.D., Incumbent of St. Oswald's, Edinburgh, to whom I am indebted for valuable suggestions in the preparation of this volume.

the name in Britain is, however, a Saxon.[10] In the North, the first Leishman on record is a citizen of Berwick-on-Tweed, then a nest of Flemings. This "Henricus de Lesseman" plays no very heroic part, since we find him, on the morrow of Halidon Hill, doing homage to Edward III.[11] Among the Border clergy in Pre-Reformation days Leishman was no uncommon surname. Near the close of the fifteenth century a William Leischman was Prior of Fogo[12] in the Merse, while at Hexham, the marred, half-cowled face of Prior Rowland Leschman may still be seen in effigy on his altar tomb.[13]

The chief cradle of the Scottish branch of the clan must be sought along the line of the Roman Wall near Falkirk, where the name occurs with a frequency bewildering to the record searcher. It was at Easter Carmoors, barely a mile westward from the town, that Matthew Leishman's father was born. Driving in his gig on one occasion from Edinburgh to Glasgow, Thomas Leishman pointed out to his son an old house, in the corner of a wayside meadow, as his birthplace. Here his ancestors, a race of sturdy yeomen, had tilled the Livingstone acres since the reign of Charles I., separate branches of the family occupying, from sire to son, two holdings known as Easter and Wester Carmoors.[14] Not far

[10] Liseman, a Wilts husbandman, tenant *a capite* from Edward the Confessor. *Domesday Book.*

[11] Cf. Scott's line, "He crouches like a leash-hound to his master." *Halidon Hill.* Act I., Sc. 2.

[12] *Chartulary of Kelso*, II., 423-24.

[13] Rowland Leishman, who is habited in the dress of an Austin Canon, died in 1491.

[14] *Bleau's Atlas.*

distant was the site of the Roman fort of Camelon and the mysterious "Arthur's O'on," then intact.

Oliver Cromwell, after his futile attempt to dislodge Leslie at Stirling in July, 1651, had his headquarters at Carmoors, described in a despatch of the day as "*Moorcar*, a poor, inconsiderable toun."[15] Broken as he then was by repeated fits of ague, the air of Scotland was "not suitable to his Excellency's temper," and Falkirk being "notoriously loyal," the Callander tenantry suffered much spoiling of their goods and gear.[16] In the loyalist hamlet, "old Nol," fresh from the bitter butchery of Drogheda, was no welcome guest, and the Leishman womenkind, on his approach, sought refuge in Callander House. Their confidence in the moated mansion of the Livingstones was ill bestowed, for within half an hour of its being attacked the place was stormed and sixty-two men slain, including the Governor.

A century later, Carmoors witnessed the last successful stand of the Stuarts, when Hawley and his dragoons turned tail before the Highland Army at Falkirk.

Apart from Principal Leishman[17] of Glasgow, whom family tradition makes a collateral ancestor of Matthew Leishman, the Carmoors family reared few men of note.

Out of this small sept of Falkirk Leishmans there sprang, however, two men whose names incidentally

[15] *Cromwelliana*, 104.

[16] *Nicoll's Diary* and Falkirk Records.

[17] For a sketch of Principal Leishman (1706-1785) see *A Son of Knox*, Maclehose, 1909.

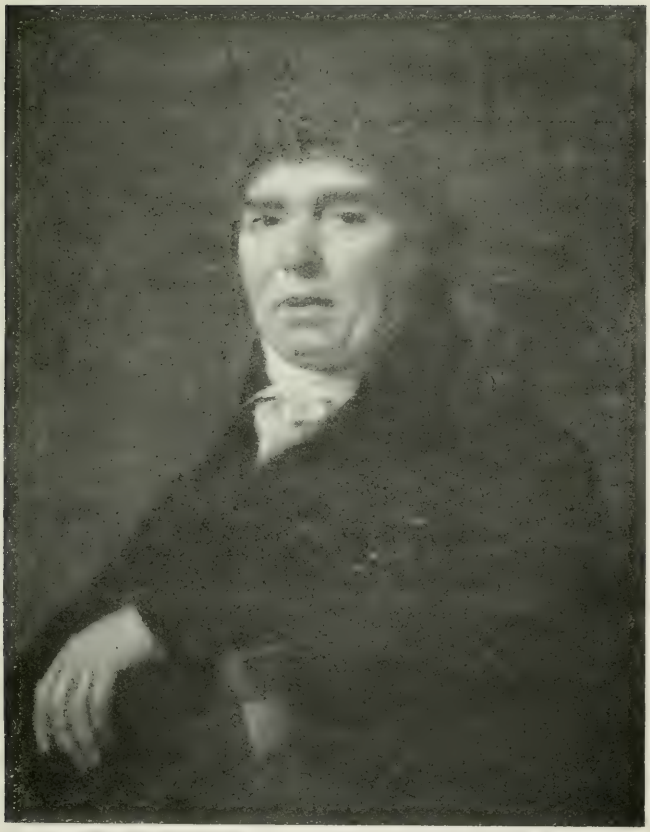
touch the fringe of Scottish History. One, John Leechman, was Sir Walter Scott's first schoolmaster, the other, a minor actor in that grim eighteenth century romance, the trepanning of Lady Grange.

What first focussed public attention, at least in South Britain, on the strange history of Lady Grange, was the appearance, in 1773, of Johnson's *Journey to the Hebrides.* The scene of her captivity is generally laid at St. Kilda, and the fact overlooked that for nine months after her capture she lay in a Lowland dungeon, within a few miles of Stirling Castle. Gagged and pinioned at her lodging in the Edinburgh High Street by some of "Lovat's ragged banditti," on Saturday evening, 22nd January, 1732, she was hurried away in a sedan chair, under cloak of night, by Forester of Carsebonny.

Their first halt was at *Mutters Hill*, so named after the family mansion of the Moutrays of Seafield. The site, now included in St. Andrew's Square,[18] was then covered by a small suburban hamlet whither the Edinburgh citizens loved to repair of a summer evening to sip curds and cream.

The place was well known to Lord Grange and his family. It is curious to find his brother, the banished Earl of Mar, who died that same spring at Aix la Chapelle, beguiling the tedium of exile by drawing plans for the improvement of the street architecture of Edinburgh, his pet project being a three arched bridge to connect the High Street with the *Mutter's Hill.*

[18] Lord Brougham was born at No. 21, where a brass plate commemorates the event. *Mutters Hill* occupied the east side of the square near the site of the present Royal Bank.



GEORGE WATSON FINNIE

JOHN LEECHMAN

1759—1811

Sir Walter Scott's First Schoolmaster

ing page 10

Here a little group of horsemen were in waiting. The chief conspirators wore black masks, but as they "rode along," the winter moon, struggling through a rift in the clouds, shone full upon a face which Lady Grange recognised. It was that of "Andrew Leishman, tenant in West Pomeise, which belongs to Mr. Steuart.[19] He has been tenant there this twenty-six years." It was under his roof that Lady Grange lay *perdue* during the time of her mock funeral and for nine months afterwards. Daily, all that summer—"Andrew Leishman brought what meat and drink I needed, and all other provisions, such as coal and candle. He went always to Mr. Foster and got directions about it. His wife served me in what things she could do about me. They have three daughters which his wife has born, and his eldest son, William Leishman. They keept me so long closs prisoner that it endangered my health and I grew sick."

On this chivalry awoke in the breast of her gaoler. "Andrew told Mr. Foster he would allow me to go out, and that he would not have a hand in my death; and then I was allowed to go to the high rooms, and to go to the court to get the air, much against Mr. Forster's will." . . . "My Lord Lovat came frequently through Stirling to Mr. Foster, his house being within a mile of it; and Mr. Foster went out and met him to concert matters about me." On 12th August, 1732, Lady Grange was removed into the Highlands. Andrew Leishman

[19] Archibald, son of Walter Steuart and grandson of Sir Archibald Steuart of Blackhall, Solicitor-General for Scotland. In 1718 Walter Steuart bought *Wester Polmaise* which he re-named Steuart Hall. Letter from Archibald Steuart, Esq.

rode with her for several stages, then their connection ceased. Recalling her after-fate—her long journeys to Assynt and the Isle of Heskir; the celebrated St. Kilda letter,[20] smuggled out in a hank of yarn, with the connivance of the Parish minister: its delivery two years after date, "by an unknown hand," at the door of her cousin Charles Erskine the Lord Advocate: the singular inaction of the Scottish judges, who suffered so grave a miscarriage of justice to pass unchallenged—and all this within measurable distance of our time!—the story is invested with an interest and fascination almost unique. The episode is of value to the civil historian, not only as illustrating the despotic sway then exercised by the Highland Chieftains—"Kinglets within their own domain"—coupled with the practical impotence of the Scottish Law Officers of the Crown to cope with lawlessness north of the Grampians, but also as casting a lurid light on the condition of public morals among the Scottish gentry at that period; the unwholesome predominance exercised by the Law Lords in the Supreme Court of the Church; and the hypocrisy prevalent in those semi-ecclesiastical circles in which moved Lord Grange, the "*holy cheat.*"

On the verge of the historic Bannock Burn, here a tidal stream, there still stands the old crow-stepped mansion of Wester Polmaise. From its windows looking northward, one may trace in dim outline the Highland hills, and watch the play of light and shade upon the Ochils. Across the Forth lies the

[20] *Edinburgh Mag.*, 1817, and *Proc. Soc. of Ant. Scot.* X. 723.

grim keep of the old Earls of Mar, upon the staircase of whose modern mansion hangs a portrait of Cheisley's daughter, beside the evil face of her crafty and dissolute lord. When one descends from the summer sunlight to her dungeon, "less than the thieves' hole in Edinburgh," with its low vaulted doorway, rounded roof, and narrow recess known as *Lady Grange's bed*, little imagination is needed to picture the forlorn figure of Grange's ill-starred wife listening for the footfall of her gaoler. As to Andrew Leishman's part in the sorry affair, this at least may be said, that he lived in Mar's country, and with his landlord, Archibald Steuart, abroad—leaving Forester of Carsebonny, a creature of Lovat's, as his factor—he was scarcely a free agent, while his lenity towards the captive stands out as the sole gleam of humanity that crosses the blackness of a foul transaction. What treasure trove the episode might have proved in the crucible of a great literary alchymist like Scott![21]

The other clan celebrity, John Leechman, Sir Walter Scott's first schoolmaster, kept a small private school at Edinburgh, in Hamilton's entry near the Bristo Port. A faded portrait of this worthy, painted by George Watson, first President of the Scottish Academy, a cousin of Scott's mother, reveals a full-blooded and somewhat bellicose countenance, not out of keeping with his traditional character as a stern disciplinarian. In this choleric temperament may probably be found one reason

[21] Lady Grange's dungeon, now used as a wine cellar, measures roughly about 9 feet by 12. In Andrew Leishman's day a door opened to the outer air, while a stairway, now embedded in the main building, led up to the summit of the tower. Cf. Scott's *Journal*, Jan. 20, 1829.

why, in the case of a delicate child like Scott, "the experiment did not answer expectation."[22] He was, however, much esteemed by Scott's father, and for many years afterwards was a weekly guest of the family.

His father, James Leishman, came from the Parish of Airth to settle at Monktonhall, close to Inveresk Church. There he enjoyed the acquaintance of Colonel Gardiner,[23] whom he visited on the eve of the battle of Prestonpans. From a family Bible presented by Lady Mar in 1823, and still in the possession of his descendants, it is evident that some link of connection existed between Scott's first schoolmaster and the family of Lord Grange.

John Leechman was among the first to alter the spelling of the name, influenced, tradition says, "by a disgraceful episode in the family annals." Curiosity is whetted—was it to cloak his kinship to Andrew the trepanner?

Matthew Leishman's father, Thomas, youngest son of John Leishman and Marion Logan, was born at Easter Carmoors, on 3rd January, 1762. Their eldest son, John,[24] destined for the Church, was studying at Edinburgh University when his father, then a comparatively young man, riding home from Falkirk market one winter's night, became so crippled by the cold that on gaining his own door he fell senseless from the saddle, paralyzed for life. This accident,

[22] Lockhart I. 91.

[23] His wife, Margaret Gardiner, was a daughter of the Session Clerk of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.

[24] Luke Fraser, Sir Walter's teacher at the High School, appears as John Leishman's class fellow. See "Discipuli D. Johannes Stevenson," 8th March, 1759, *Ed. Univ. Matric. Roll.*

with its consequent narrowing of the family resources, abruptly ended his son's academic career.

Another son, James Leishman, served for some time in the Navy, but left the service after his marriage. Country weddings in those days, in accordance with the injunctions of the *Westminster Directory*, were as a rule celebrated in Church. Immediately after the ceremony came the "*broose*," or marriage race, from the church door to the bride's home, not improbably a survival of the Pagan custom of marriage by capture. Matthew Leishman's mother used to tell how on this occasion, she riding pillion behind her husband, they won the "*double broose*," or race for married couples. At the evening junketings, it was a further triumph to overhear one of the guests murmuring against the Paisley party:—"They won the '*double broose*' in the morning, and now they have ta'en the gree of us at the dancing."[25]

Living in the early days of Pitt's administration, a commercial spring-tide, when the opening of canals promised new markets and drew "enterprising men from a distance," Thomas Leishman, youngest in a family of ten, came to Paisley to push his fortunes. Dame fortune however proved capricious. Dabbling in canal shares, grain mills, ships, a bakery, house building, and other ventures, he had perhaps too many irons in the fire; for the year 1787 found

[25] This wedding of James Leishman, R.N., to Mary Bennie, was celebrated, 1st Feb., 1793, at Bothkennar. The distance across country from the Church door to *Doups*, the bride's home, is several miles. For an account of the winning of the "*single broose*," apparently at the same marriage, see *George Harley, F.R.S.: Life of a London Physician*, by his daughter, Mrs. Alec Tweedie, p. 27.

him in the Bankruptcy Court, compelled to face life anew at the bottom of the ladder. A man of sterling integrity, Leishman "viewing his obligations" as did Scott,[26] "with the feelings not of a merchant but of a gentleman," at once set himself to repair his shattered fortunes, and, thanks to Buonaparte and the Corn Laws, with such success that he soon amassed a considerable fortune as a grain merchant. Within two decades he had the satisfaction of bidding his creditors to a banquet, where each guest, on arrival, found under his plate a cheque for his lost capital and interest accruing. A silver punchbowl, "presented to Thomas Leishman" as a memento of "conduct so honourable and praiseworthy," is still treasured among his descendants.

Paisley, at the date of Matthew Leishman's birth, was a small country town, "one of the most beautiful in Scotland." The now ink-coloured Cart and its tributary, St. Mirin's burn, were then clear streams, well stocked with darting trout and stickleback. The thread, silk, and muslin era was not yet. On Sundays, within the ancient Cluniac Abbey Church, the Stool of Repentance seldom stood vacant. The Scottish Church still laid upon her children "the strong hand of her purity." Her disciplinary system, alone among the reformed preserved and purified at the Reformation, remained intact, and delinquents did penance in public, if not *in sacco*. Children wondered, and sometimes asked, why these young men and women sat in that special seat, and Leishman recalled the dry rejoinder made to

[26] Lockhart, VI. 224.

THOMAS LEISHMAN OF OAKSHAW

1791 [illegible]

Facing page 20

him by an aged elder—"It was no' for biggin' kirks."[27]

In Scotland, the old race of Moderate Clergy was dying fast, and none came on to take their places. Hugh Blair, their model in pulpit eloquence, died in 1800. *Jupiter* Carlyle, the Assembly Clerk, followed five years later. The new school of Evangelical *Highfliers* were only just beginning to preen their wings. All over Europe men felt the breath of a new age. Church and State stood on the edge of a volcano.

The month of Leishman's birth saw the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Britain; Poland in insurrection under Kosciusko; while the heads of Danton and his accomplices had just fallen under the guillotine.

"My earliest recollections," says Matthew Leishman, "carry me back to the days of the first French Revolution. I was then very young, but I distinctly remember hearing those about me constantly talking of an expected French Invasion, and I often awoke during the night in a state of terror, having dreamed that what was talked of, and expected, had actually occurred.

"With the exception of a few malcontents, infected with French Jacobinism, the people of England and Scotland were thoroughly loyal. Almost to a man they stood forth to uphold the throne and defend their religion and liberty. Regiments of volunteers

[27] At Burntisland, Public Discipline lasted so late as 1824, when Dr. Charles Watson and his Session decreed its discontinuance. Dr. Cooper of Glasgow informs the writer that a son of the incumbent of Bower in Caithness told him he recollected seeing a woman in a white sheet doing public penance at the door of the Parish Church.

were organized in every county and principal town throughout the land, and the country, in an incredibly short time, appeared to be converted into a large military camp."

Leishman received his early education at Paisley Grammar School, a foundation dating from the reign of James VI., the backbone of its endowment being found in the spoils of the "great pillage," "altarages, and obit silver paid of auld to the priests in the kirk of the Burgh." One of the stones in the old school bore a motto, suggestive of Winchester,—*Disce Puer aut Abi.*[28]

"Well grounded in classics, French, and Scripture knowledge," at thirteen Leishman entered Glasgow College, donning the scarlet gown of a student in Arts. In those days, Religion and Letters had more than a mere bowing acquaintance. Every class was opened with prayer. The Latin tongue was still much in evidence, while a wholesome odour of the Ages of Faith clung about the courts and gardens of the old College by the Molendinar burn in which the late Lord Kelvin used to sail his toy boats.

At the College Debating Society, as a boy of fifteen, Leishman took up the cudgels in defence of the Queen of Scots, and had little difficulty in deciding "Whether Queen Mary, or Queen Elizabeth, was the better woman:" the real root of Mary's misfortunes, from her first landing at Leith to her "final flight

[28] The Winchester College motto—*Aut disce: aut discede: manet sors tertia cadi*, pithily rendered, "Work: Walk: or be Whopt"—is of "date older than the present school. It was probably introduced early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Christopher Johnson was headmaster." For above note I am indebted to Herbert Chitty, Esq.

across Goven-Mure, neire to a hill called Langside,"[29] being, he contended, "her strenuous attachment to the ancient Religion."

A sample of Leishman's skill in verse survives in a not ungraceful rendering of certain choruses from the "*Clouds*" of Aristophanes, done for the private Greek class of the learned and gentle Edmund Lushington, who afterwards married Cecilia Tennyson.

At Glasgow, Leishman graduated with distinction, winning the "*Black Stone*" prize,[30] so named from the rhomboidal block of black marble—sacred in undergraduate eyes as the stone of destiny, forming, as it does, the seat of an antique chair, in which the candidate for Classical honours sat, hour glass at back, during the ordeal of a *viva voce* examination.

Early in life, Leishman had resolved to seek "office as a minister in the Church of Scotland," and decided to study Divinity at Edinburgh. His ticket for the journey cost him seventeen shillings. The Edinburgh coach started in those days from the door of the *Black Bull.* This famous Glasgow hostelry stood on the north side of Argyll Street. It had thriven in the sunshine of Ducal favour ever since the body of Archibald, third Earl of Argyll, head of the Government in Scotland, rested here over night in April, 1761, *en route* from Inveraray to the family burial vault at Kilmun on the Holy Loch. Patrick Heron, its then landlord,

[29] Balfour's *Annals*, I 344.

[30] For various quaint customs then in vogue in connection with the "*Black Stone*," but since swept away by the besom of Reform, vid. Prof. Geo. Buchanan's *Reminiscences*, *Glas. Univ. Mag.*, 23rd Feby., 1898.

socially a man of some standing,[31] was one of Glasgow's best known citizens. If an excellent Boniface, Heron was, behind the scenes, a man of fierce and uncertain temper. His views of parental discipline were certainly Draconic, if there be any truth in the story that he used to correct his daughters with a dog whip which hung handy over his chairback at table. His wife was a first cousin of Tobias Smollett, and the novelist was an *habitué* of the *Black Bull.* Later in life, Heron migrated to Edinburgh, where he died in Heron's Court. His name still lingers in the memory of many a grateful patient of his grand-nephew, and Matthew Leishman's nephew by marriage, the late Sir Patrick Heron Watson.

At the door of the *Black Bull*, one crisp October morning in 1812, we see Matthew Leishman, a lad of eighteen, garbed in knee breeches of blue and buckled shoon, awaiting the departure of the coach which was to carry him to the Scottish Metropolis.

[31] Among the lesser gentry, innkeeping was then accounted quite a "genteel" calling. At an earlier period the General Assembly even found it necessary to pass an Act debarring the clergy from the "holding of hostelries," as "an unlawful and incompetent occupation." *Gen. Ass. Acts*, 26th March, 1638.

CHAPTER II

EDINBURGH DIVINITY HALL: WANDER YEAR: ORDINATION: MARRIAGE

1812—1824

"These are busy times for religion. Puseyism puts on its beaver and walks abroad. The old Kirk shakes herself and gets up, ashamed to have lain so long among the pots." CARLYLE.

WITHIN the Edinburgh Divinity Hall at the time of Leishman's entry, the lamp of theological learning burned low. The system of pluralism, then rampant, left the Professors, as parochial clergy, scant time or energy for original research, although the condition of affairs hardly merited Carlyle's caustic comment—"the hungry sheep look up to their spiritual nurses and for food are bidden eat the east wind." In the Divinity Chair, with "the piercing gaze of an old eagle,"[1] sat Dr. William Ritchie, the venerable and kindly incumbent of St. Giles. A better theologian, probably, than his successor, Thomas Chalmers, he lacked the latter's singular gift of inspiring and quickening young minds. Hugh Meiklejohn—a "good-natured giant with a smooth round face"—who lectured on Church History, was an ex-Moderator and a man of no mean parts, but his attention was, perforce, divided between his students and his rural parishioners, not to mention his glebe and poultry, at Abercorn. The

[1] Cf. Christison's *Recollections*, and Grant's *Story of the University*, 38.

Hebrew Chair, indeed, had just secured, in Alexander Murray, one of the "first linguists and Oriental scholars" of his day, but the double burden imposed by lectures and the care of his distant flock in Galloway, proved too great for a constitution enfeebled by overstudy; and in the middle of Leishman's first session, consumption cut him off at the untimely age of thirty-eight. Unfavourable as were the conditions, they produced, nevertheless, a vigorous crop of divines and at least two men of European reputation—the author of *The French Revolution*, and his friend Edward Irving.

The Scottish Church was nearing the zenith of its power and popularity. Its Halls were thronged with candidates for the Holy Ministry. Leishman had no fewer than forty-eight fellow-students in the Hebrew class alone. He made many friends. Nathaniel Paterson, author of *The Manse Garden*, afterwards incumbent of Galashiels, and Scott's clergyman at Abbotsford; Robert Story of Rosneath, who had as room-fellow Thomas Pringle,[2] the South African bard; John Wylie of Carluke, a handsome, rollicking youth, in later life a disciple of John M'Leod Campbell. Very different in type was Hew Scott, the poverty-stricken young bookseller. Across the quadrangle, John Gibson Lockhart, in a desultory fashion, was reading Civil Law. Leishman's chief friend was Charles Watson, whose Manual of *Family Prayers* ran into eight editions, and found a place in most devout Scottish households from Solway to Speyside, for at least a generation.

[2] For account of Thomas Pringle (1789-1834), see *A Son of Knox*. Maclehose, 1909.

The formative period in Leishman's life, from nineteen to thirty, is lit up fitfully by a budget of faded letters preserved by this college friend. The first letter, dated 11th December, 1813, reveals Leishman, a second year student in Divinity, burning the midnight oil at his lodgings, 5 St. James Street, within a stonecast of the spot whence, on another mid-winter night, eight decades earlier, the trepanners of Lady Grange set forth on their moonlight ride to Stirling.

Watson, as a delicate orphan, was brought up by two maiden aunts, sisters of Patrick Heron of the *Black Bull*, and their home, Seaside House, on the edge of Leith Links, became Leishman's chief house of call. Though shorn of its former glory by the invasion of docks and railway companies, the old house still stands. Hare, accomplice of the notorious Burke, lay concealed here for some time in a disused attic. One recalls in childhood the *eeriness* of the place, the moan of the neighbouring sea, and the creepy associations attaching to the now demolished Hare attic. To Leishman, the friendship with Watson opened many doors. Nephew and heir-at-law to William Creech, Robert Burns' publisher, Watson inherited, along with his kinsman's substance, no small portion of his literary taste. *Creech's levées*, given at his five-storied house, built buttress fashion against the walls of St. Giles, were frequented by the leading Edinburgh clergy and men of letters, while his shop, below stairs in the Luckenbooths, formed "the Rialto of literary commerce and intercourse" in the Metropolis.

Another of Leishman's intimates was John Paul,

who introduced him to his uncle, the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, leader of the old Evangelical party. Ninth of a line of Nova Scotia baronets, and sixth minister of the Church of Scotland in lineal descent, Sir Henry succeeded his father in the obscure living of Blackford. As a sample of the "quiet homely life there," it is on record that a caller once surprised the elder divine on the top of a ladder, thatching his manse. Lord Cockburn's Sunday picture of Sir Harry, a charming, if "somewhat old-fashioned gentleman," is worth recalling:—"Look at him," emerging "from his small house in the east end of Queen Street," *en route* for St. Cuthbert's, "with his bands, his little cocked hat, his tall cane, and his Cardinal air.[3] He preached, if it was his turn, a sensible, practical sermon; walked home in the same style; took tea about five, spent some hours in his study; at nine had family worship; at which he was delighted to see the friends of any of his sons; after which the whole party sat down to the roasted hens, the goblets of wine, and his powerful talk. Here was a mode of alluring young men into the paths of pious pleasantness." The suppers of Lord Monboddo may have been "more Attic," but "the figure and the voice, the thoughts, the kind and cheerful manliness of Sir Harry, as disclosed at those Sunday evenings, will be remembered with gratitude by some of the best intellects in Scotland."[4] At the feet of this Gamaliel, within the church of St. Cuthbert, under the shadow of the Castle rock, Leishman sat

[3] Raeburn depicts Sir Harry, in clerical undress: for a likeness in gown and band, see Kay, *Edinburgh Portraits*.

[4] Cockburn's *Memorials*, 38, cf. *Memorials of Mary Somerville*, 91.

H. RAEBURN PINXIT

THE REVEREND SIR HENRY MONCREIFF, D.D., BARONET

1750 - 1827

during three winters, and ever after, in matters clerical, looked up to and quoted him as his "glass of fashion." He it was who first impregnated Leishman with sound Church principles, and in after years the latter was often heard to say:—"Had old Sir Harry been alive, there would have been no Secession." By the irony of fate, it was the evil advice given by his son, Lord Moncreiff—who staked his legal reputation upon the legality of the Veto Act—which led the Church on to the ice in 1834.

Another Edinburgh Divine of whom Matthew Leishman cherished grateful recollections was Alexander Brunton, the courtly and urbane minister of "Christ's Kirk at the Tron." He was an ardent advocate of India Missions, and Murray's successor in the Chair of Oriental Languages. As first prizeman in Hebrew (an honour in which he was bracketed with "Francis Thackeray, Cambridge"), Leishman came much into contact with the Professor and his brilliant wife, Mary Balfour, whose door, in St. John Street, was always open to the handsome stripling from the West. Mrs. Brunton enjoyed a fame more than local as a novelist, at least until 1814, when, as she says, "my frail little cockboat" was "capsized and swamped" on the appearance of *Waverley*.[5] More potent still was the influence of Edward Irving. Although he was only a "partial attendant" at the Hall during Leishman's time, a common meeting ground was found at Bolton Manse, where Irving and Story were wont to spend most Saturday afternoons.

[5] See Mrs. Brunton's *Remains*, also Lockhart III. 23, 246.

Andrew Stewart, their host at Bolton, had been secretary to the blind poet-preacher, Blacklock, and tutor in the family of Doctor Davidson of Muirhouse, an ancestor of the present Archbishop of Canterbury. He began life as a student in medicine. As pioneer of the open-air treatment of phthisis, one of his earliest successes was the case of the Honourable Margaret Stuart, supposed to be far gone in consumption. After her recovery, they were married, and her brother, Lord Blantyre, having presented the "beloved physician" to Bolton, later on promoted him to his own home living at Erskine.

In the Spring of 1816, laden with College prizes, Leishman returned home. Oakshaw House, his father's residence at Paisley—acquired[6] while Leishman was still in the Divinity Hall—commands an extensive view. In Mediæval days Oakshawhead was an oak wood, furnishing faggots for the Abbot's kitchen: still earlier, the site of a Roman Fort occupied by Italian Legionaries posted there to curb the barbarians of Clydesdale: to-day, though shorn of half its territory by the incursion of the railway, the mansion house still survives as a Church of Scotland Labour Home.

The four years which Leishman spent "waiting at the pool" for preferment, proved an intellectual and spiritual seedtime, enabling him at once to see something of the world, to cultivate the art of preaching, and to equip himself generally for his sacred calling.

[6] Purchased by Thomas Leishman, 12th December, 1814, for £1,980. Oakshaw became in 1911 the property of the Church.

In the autumn of 1816, shortly after license, Leishman writes:—"Ever since I came home I have been busily employed in preaching. I have now made my appearance in all the Churches of Paisley, and am engaged to preach for the Ministers of the Abbey. I heard Chalmers preach two weeks ago. It was the concluding discourse of his Astronomical Series[7]—certainly the most brilliant of all his appearances that I ever heard. The idea is a sublime one, and he brought it forward in the most striking manner. By the by, there was no truth whatever in the foolish report we heard in Edinburgh that his windows had been broken by the rabble. But, *O tempora! O mores!* he has been taking lessons at the riding school. This report you may credit. Are you not pleased that we have such a distinguished case to produce in exculpation of our unclerical Levites? I assure you it pleases me vastly."[8]

The two friends were excellent horsemen, Watson being the only student of his year in the Divinity Hall who kept a saddle horse, and in the early summer of 1816, Leishman suggests a riding tour. "Paisley, 3rd May, 1816. The plan I have chalked out for our movements is this:—So soon as you are sick of Assembly business, leave town for this place, and we shall endeavour to spend the time between that and the end of June in the most agreeable

[7] His text was Colossians II. 15. "And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." This discourse—"On the contest for an ascendency over man, amongst the higher orders of intelligence"—was really the second last. *Astronomical Discourses*, 189.

[8] M. L. to C. W. Jan., 1817.

way possible, riding round the West coast or anywhere else you may like better. We can then return to Edinburgh together. I have not yet got a horse for my own use, but my father is willing to allow me the use of his." On account of Watson's ill health this "social ride" was abandoned. Leishman consoled himself with a five weeks' walking tour in Ayrshire and Galloway, visiting many of the manses and "preaching almost constantly." One week was spent at Straiton Manse with his recently ordained friend John Paul, whom he reports to be "quite happy, doing much good, and well liked."

In February, 1817, Leishman had the refusal of a charge in Demerara. "It was offered me unsolicited, with a salary of £1,000, but my friends would not allow me to accept. I was indeed not much disposed to do so myself, although somewhat flattered by the offer, a great number of preachers having presented themselves as candidates. The climate I am told is now very healthy. One of the Directors was in our house the other day; he said he had resided there for fourteen years and scarcely ever had a complaint."

At the close of the long French war, Leishman's father, now possessed of ample means, and possibly feeling with Valentine that "homekeeping youths have ever homely wits," sent his son for several months to travel abroad. Leishman's route, by London, Flanders, and Paris, was probably mapped out for him by his cousin, James Wilson, the naturalist, youngest brother of "Christopher North," who, in company with Adam Black, the publisher, Black-

wood, and David Laing, had covered the same ground in the previous spring. He embarked in one of the Leith smacks, on 17th April, 1818, and a week's voyage brought him to the Thames, and the house of his uncle, Captain Allan,[9] in Northampton Square. In London, Leishman saw much of Tassie[10] the celebrated cameoist, whose studio at 20 Leicester Square was then a favourite lounge of Lord Byron and Tom Moore. "Heard Brougham speak in the Commons, a good deal of Jeffrey's manner, but with less rapidity. Heard the Bishop of Llandaff [Richard Watson] at the Magdalene Chapel, very Arminian, however he concluded his sermon well with a 'plain unvarnished tale' better than flowers of rhetoric. Saw the Queen [Charlotte] pass, the crowd enormous, she has not been in the City for seven years. At Drury Lane saw Kean play *Norval* in *Douglas*. Westminster Abbey—British Museum —Tower—a busy time." "Monday morning, 11th May, 1818," he writes:—"This letter will be a short one as I leave town to-morrow for Dieppe. Dr. Stewart from Erskine and I go in company. His patient, Sir George Hope, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, died about a week ago, and this left him at perfect liberty. I dined one day with the *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, was in the chair. He filled it extremely well, in a double

[9] Commander of the *Margaret*, East Indiaman. A painting of his ship, "Waiting for the pilot," off Dover, by Huggins, Marine Painter to George IV, still exists.

[10] Tassie's father, James Tassie, d. 1799, was born at Pollokshaws: his wife, Margaret MacGhie, was a native of Govan.

sense, for he is very corpulent. He appears to have very considerable social powers. I am much pleased with the attentions your friend Mr. Tassie has shown me. I dined with him twice, and went to see the Exhibition of Paintings at the British Gallery, of which I find he is one of the Directors. I have not resolved how long I shall be on the Continent, nor whether I shall visit London again. At all events, I shall not return in one of the Leith smacks! If such scenes as I had the misfortune to witness on my passage often occur on board these smacks, they are certainly not very suitable places for a clergyman."

"Early in the morning of the 13th May, 1818, starting from the Angel Inn, St. Clements, we went by coach to Canterbury and thence by Dover passed over to Flanders." The embers of the late war still smouldered. Anti-British feeling ran high. The travellers were frequently "greeted with jeering cries of *Hola! Messieurs Beif Stic*," and on one occasion were mobbed by "Flemish boors." Their route lay through the Cockpit of Europe, over ground recently rendered doubly historic—Nieuport and Bruges—where they slept at *The Golden Bear* in Silver Street—Ghent and Antwerp. At Brussels they turned aside to visit the grave of the Napoleonic Empire at Waterloo. "Our guide was La Coste, the Belgian farmer who was stationed near Buonaparte during the battle to be ready to answer any topographical questions that might be put." *Corpus Christi* found them at Cambrai, where an English Regiment lay in garrison under the command of Dr. Stewart's brother-in-law, Lord Blantyre, who

had lost an arm at Quatre Bras. Returning from breakfast at mess, Leishman "met a gorgeous procession, and saw the whole town on its knees before the Host. From Cambrai, on the top of the diligence, '*summa diligentia*,' we came to Paris, Hotel de Londres."

To Leishman it was the opening of a new world in Religion, Art, and Letters. The sight of the Bastille—the Louvre—Versailles—St. Cloud—and the gardens of the Luxembourg, where the "bullet marks were still visible on the wall, against which Ney met his fate three years before." Most evenings were spent "at the French Opera," which they "thought infinitely superior to Drury Lane and the British Stage." The heat in Paris that June was intolerable, the thermometer frequently standing at 103° and 104° in the shade, and Dr. Stewart being called home by a critical case, Leishman, chartering two mules, and for guide "an old soldier who had served under Buonaparte," sought sylvan seclusion in the Provinces. One day he rode to Rouen, twenty miles, to overtake the diligence—"most of the way at full speed." At parting, the muleteer strove to overreach him by many francs, until Leishman's slender stock of patience gave out, and the controversy was closed by "Apostolic blows and knocks," leaving Napoleon's Guardsman prostrate in the mire. This episode Leishman related with some contrition to his son half a century later. Returning home by Dieppe, Leishman, for "six Sundays in succession, preached in the Scots Church at London Wall," soon to re-echo with Edward Irving's *Ordination Charge*, as eloquent an effort as any of its kind in

the English language. "Manuel," writes Leishman, "unreasonable fellow, wished me to preach on a seventh Sunday, but I declined, and issued from the bustle of the *City of the Plague*,[11] immediately after."

Dr. Manuel came to the charge of London Wall in the year of Waterloo. It is curious to note that the choice lay between him and "Mr. Thomas Chalmers, Minister of Kilmany."[12] To speculate on the might-have-beens of human history is vain, but had Chalmers accepted, two things might or would almost certainly have happened. The fortunes of London Wall, then on the decline, would in modern parlance have *boomed*, as did those of Regent Square when Irving came; and the Disruption might have been averted, the stream of Scottish Church History carving out for itself some totally different channel.

Late one Sunday evening, after four months' absence, Leishman arrived at his father's door, followed by a cargo of books and medals. Among his treasures was a fine thirty volume edition of the works of Voltaire, purchased in Paris at the sale of Marshal Ney's library. More to the point, was a twenty volume edition of Bossuet and a small library of the masters of post-mediæval eloquence—Fénélon, Massillon, even Gabriel Barletti, the Dominican, and the Jesuit Bourdaloue, most virile of French preachers.

Four months after his return, taking temporary charge of the Parish of Renfrew, Leishman threw

[11] "Christopher North's" poem appeared in the spring of 1816.

[12] For the above information I am indebted to the Rev. Archibald Fleming, D.D.

himself at once into the work of the ministry, and from that day, if he did not "live in a nook merely Monastic," he certainly "foreswore the full stream of the world." From Paisley, 13th January, 1819, he writes to Watson:—"No presentation has yet been put into my hands. How do you fare in this respect? Preachers I find multiplying beyond all numeration. The only chance I can see is for you to purchase a patronage for my behoof, and that I endeavour to heap together as many hundred pounds as will do the same good turn for you. I have become assistant at Renfrew. I confess to you I was completely tired of my life for the last two years, having no fixed object in view. I hope, now that I have a strong motive to diligence, I shall henceforward be more industrious. You will no doubt suppose, since I have condescended to an assistancy, I must be looking forward to the succession, but really my principal object was that I might be useful to others and to myself." . . . "What a number of questions you have put to me—religious, critical, political, and miscellaneous! How are things going on at Renfrew? What are the Radicals doing? What are my sentiments respecting the Litany of the Church of England? Have I read Dr. M'Crie's new book,[13] and what do I think of it? Time and paper would fail me were I to attempt to answer all these questions. I shall therefore confine myself to the first. Things have been *in statu quo* for several months, that is *in statu stagnante*. As my prospects at home are not brightening very fast, I feel a wish returning

[13] *Life of Andrew Melville.*

which once beat very strong, to visit India as one of the Company's Chaplains. There will be a vacancy soon it is believed. In that case I may be tempted to put in my claim. What do you think of the scheme? My imagination rests with great pleasure on India while it turns away with disgust from the West Indies and America; happen what will, I shall never be induced to become the associate of rascally republicans or insipid planters. After all, I believe I shall stay at home and try to submit entirely to the lot which Providence provides."

Under the Church Patronage Act of Queen Anne, clerical promotion, unless backed by influence, was slow and uncertain. Not that Leishman lacked friends. "I have received a letter," he writes 3rd February, 1819, "from Dr. Muir" (afterwards of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh), "whom friendship has prompted to make application to Lord Alloway, to use his influence with Lady Montgomery to procure for me the vacant parish of Dreghorn." Lord Gillies, Senator in the College of Justice, had, however, already bespoken that living for his nephew.[14] Despite such instances of nepotism, Leishman's correspondence reveals that under the Patronage *régime* there was much less jobbery than is commonly supposed. Thanks largely, no doubt, to the pressure of public opinion, patrons now readily lent their ear to the *vox populi*, and almost invariably took counsel with the leading clergy, hence they were well informed as to the merits and character of the Levites in candidature for

[14] Robert Smith, incumbent of Dreghorn, 1821-1831.

"the priest's office." Judged by its fruits, the Patronage system worked on the whole admirably. It certainly furnished the Church with a type of clergy perhaps the most efficient Scotland has possessed since the Reformation. A system which could produce men of the stamp of Thomas Chalmers, William Muir, and Norman Macleod can hardly have been wholly bad.

The question of Catholic Emancipation was now coming to the front. "No doubt," Leishman predicts, "they will get all they want in the course of a very few years, if not in a much shorter time. To admit them to the very highest offices in the state I conceive to be a perilous experiment, but many people for whom I have the highest respect, and who are not ignorant of the nature of the Catholic Faith, seem to think it must be done, otherwise very bad consequences will follow. Had I a seat in the House of Commons I own I would have voted with the majority."

The country was seething with political discontent, and Leishman, who acted as a special constable, gives a graphic account of the Paisley Bread Riots.

"OAKSHAW HOUSE, 4 April, 1820.
Tuesday afternoon.

"Troops are pouring in from all quarters upon us—so are radicals. We seem to me on the verge of a civil war. All business is at a stand. The radical leaders have published a Manifesto and posted it up almost simultaneously in every part of the country, prohibiting all kinds of work. Last night the house of my uncle, Mr. Matthew Robert-

son, at Foxbar,[15] about three miles from Paisley, was attacked by about sixty armed ruffians. They demanded arms and, as Mr. Robertson hesitated, they instantly fired five or six shots at him as he parleyed with them from his bedroom window. Most providentially none took effect though the window was shattered in pieces. His second son (who was behind him) supposing his father had been dead, as he lay on the floor in a swoon, instantly returned the fire, with a brace of pistols. Meantime Mr. Robertson's eldest son, who is little more than twenty, alarmed by the unusual noise, came out from the works with the watchman, and as soon as they approached sufficiently near, emptied their pieces among the assassins. Their leader was shot through the heart. The whole body then instantly took flight, leaving on the grass plot in front of the house a wounded associate."

Leishman rode over to Foxbar next morning, and found the dead man laid out in the hall.[16] He afterwards galloped on to Blythswood House to represent the case to the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and for months Foxbar was protected by soldiery. The above letter is addressed to Watson, "at Dr. Jamieson's Academy," the author of the well-known *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* having been his tutor.

In March 1820, Leishman writes to congratulate Watson on his presentation to the Crown living of

[15] Property of Lord Glasgow. It was afterwards sold to the Renshaw family. The late Sir Charles Bine Renshaw, an invaluable supporter of the Restoration of Paisley Abbey, told the writer that he "remembered the last of the Robertsons well. He was a good horseman and cut a respectable figure in the hunting field."

[16] One of the flint-lock pistols which Leishman carried at his holsters on this occasion, is still preserved.

Burntisland. "Nothing could have given me so much pleasure but a presentation of my own. You have my best wishes, and, as you desire, my prayers." On the last day of June we find him crossing the Forth *en route* for his friend's Ordination. The Fife littoral is rich in picturesque townlets, but in architectural style Burntisland Church, the scene of Watson's future ministry, is probably unique in Britain. Built in 1592 by "the burghers and ship-masters, mostly Dutchmen," it succeeded an older fabric, dedicated to St. Serf, which survives in ruin half a mile inland. Tradition affirms it to have been modelled on one of the churches in Amsterdam. Its exterior rather recalls the famous 15th century church of St. Catherine at Honfleur,[17] then a constant port of call with Scottish merchants, not to add a Citadel of the French Reformed, Honfleur being the last place in Brittany to fall into the hands of Henri Quatre.

Within the walls of Burntisland Church, thanks to a royal hunting accident, met the historic Assembly of 1601, where first was mooted King James' project—afterwards matured in the Jerusalem chamber—the authorised version of our English Bible. On the eve of his elevation to the chair of St. Augustine, William Laud, when visiting Burntisland, "*quarelled extremely* with the quadrate form of the church," saying to those present that "it was hard to tell in a church of such a shape where to place the altar." The incumbent of Burntisland at

[17] For a sketch of this building, made Michaelmas, 1864, by the brilliant water colour painter, Jonkind, father of the impressionist school, see *Studio*, 15th October, 1868.

the date of Laud's visit[18] was Dr. John Michaelson, afterwards "outed" for Episcopacy and refusal to sign the Covenant. From him, Leishman's future wife, Jane Elisabeth Boog, traced direct descent.[19] On the day of Watson's coming, the mellow note of an old Flemish Bell summoned the parishioners to worship. Their offerings were taken in three ancient brazen alms-basons displaying in bas relief the Annunciation, the Translation of the Virgin, and St. Christopher, the "Canaanitish Hercules," in mid-stream. As on Sundays, the Provost occupied the "Magistrate's Loft," along with the Town Council, preceded by the town officers with halberts and cocked hats. The most interesting figure was that of Watson's venerable predecessor, Mr. James Wemyss. A man of fine physique and heir to a baronetcy of Nova Scotia,[20] poverty alone prevented Wemyss from assuming the title, "thinking a poor minister," as he said, "as well without it." He was one of the earliest clergymen in Fife to restore the use of the Geneva gown. When it was presented to him by his neighbours in 1779, certain of his parishioners objected to this modest vestment as a "rag of popery."[21] One old woman, Ailie Thrift,

[18] 1st July, 1633, *Scots Affairs*. II. 60.

[19] See Appendix E.

[20] Wemyss of Bogie, a creation of Queen Anne, 1704. His eldest son James, an Edinburgh Writer to the Signet, afterwards assumed the title, now extinct.

[21] Similar scenes occurred elsewhere, *e.g.*, at Kirkmahoe in the time of Dr. Wightman. The objection to gowns was not native but one of the "Sectarian Conceits" imported from England at the Cromwellian period. In 1696 the Synod of Dumfries enacts:—"considering that it is a thing very decent and suitable, so it hath been the practice of this Kirk formerly to wear black gowns in the pulpit and for ordinary to make use of bands, recommend to all the brethren within their bounds to keep up that laudable custom."

who had hitherto come to church with a plaid over her head, purchased a poke bonnet that the front of it might prevent her seeing the minister in his gown. Wemyss was also among the first to introduce Scriptural Paraphrases[22] into Divine Service. Previously, a stranger having given one out, Mr. Leven the Provost, stood up and said they were not used in that church.

In the body of the building sat the local gentry, each in his high-backed oak chair, while blazoned on the front of the gallery were the signs of the different crafts. On the "Sailors' Loft"—ships; on the Bakers'—a sheaf of corn; on the Weavers'—a shuttle; on the Merchants'—scales; and on the Masons'—a mallet and square. During Watson's incumbency these interesting relics of a bygone age, with their appropriate Scriptural texts, were unhappily "obliterated and painted out."[23] Along with them went the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostle's Creed, which up to 1823 adorned the pillars.[24]

One of the obvious flaws in the Patronage system was the traffick in livings. Glasgow University alone in twenty years had sold at least seven, and now resolved to put upon the market the College living of Govan, gifted by Charles I. On the advice of Dr. Scott, one of the Greenock

[22] Sanctioned for use by the General Assembly of 1781.

[23] Since skilfully restored.

[24] For the above details we are mainly indebted to a daughter of the Rev. James Wemyss, and niece of Sir William Fairfax, who commanded the *Venerable* at the battle of Camperdown. On her honeymoon she breakfasted at Jedburgh Manse with Sir Walter Scott. See MS. *Reminiscences of Mrs. Leven.*

clergy, and an old friend of the family, Thomas Leishman of Oakshaw made an offer for the Patronage, "meaning to present his son." The latter however writes, "I pronounced my *negatur*, and the negociations were immediately broken off," Leishman feeling with Toplady, when he resigned the Vicarage[25] procured for him by his friends, that "the believer never yet carved for himself but he cut his own fingers."

In the Spring of 1820, however, the Govan project was revived. "My father," writes Leishman, "after all my hesitation and qualms of conscience, has given in an offer to the College for the Patronage."[26] On May 4th he adds:—"Fame with her hundred tongues, *mirabile dictu*, has spoken truth for once. My father's offer (£2,100) for the Govan Patronage has been accepted, though one or two of the Professors have protested and, for form's sake merely it would seem, have appealed to the Rector and Dean of Faculty, who after all have not power (so says Professor Davidson) to annul the transaction. Dr. Pollock is still living, but nobody sees him now. If I am to be his successor, I trust I shall not fall short of him in the manner in which I shall discharge the duties of my office." Three days later Dr. Pollock died. After a keen debate covering four months, the Senatus decided that the sale of the living, while lawful, was not expedient. For "the peace of the Society" the bargain was annulled and the purchase money returned. Matthew Leishman now went into the battle with better heart. Late in September he writes:—"The

[25] Blagdon, in Somerset.

[26] M. L. to C. W., April, 1820.

From an Old Painting attributed to W. L. Leitch.

GOVAN FERRY AND THE HILLOCK

circa 1830

facing page 50

sale it seems must be given up and the College present in her own name, but it is not yet known who will be their presentee. My friends say I have still the best chance. If you write I shall expect a homily on patience. Several of the Faculty have already declared in my favour: others still hesitate. The Heritors, I am happy to say, are straining every nerve and applying every tongue and every pen in my favour. On their exertions I place my best hopes. Dr. Gilchrist of Greenock is my opponent. The hearts of my friends are set upon my success, and for their sakes, if not for my own, I hope it will end well." It was a letter from Sir Henry Moncreiff, whom he had visited recently at Tullibole, his country seat near Kinross, that eventually turned the scale.

On September 24th, from Glasgow Leishman writes:—"All my fears are ended. Half an hour ago, after the hottest canvass ever known, I was elected minister of Govan." Later, from Oakshaw House:—"Since I got my presentation in October I have seen nobody almost. We used to think it must be a fine thing to have a presentation, but I suppose when you got yours, you must have felt somewhat as I feel at present, serious and almost melancholy, not that my appointment to Govan has not given me a great deal of satisfaction, it would be insufferable affectation to say otherwise, but, it has brought along with it a load of cares and fears. I have requested Dr. Scott of Greenock to introduce me. He will not overwhelm me with fulsome compliments but address himself warmly to the best feelings both of pastor and people. It

gave me great delight to be informed that the difficulties you anticipated in the discharge of your ministerial duties have, in a great degree, vanished. I trust that it shall ever be so with both of us, and that as our day is, so shall our strength be."[27] 8th February, 1821. The "day fixed for my Ordination is Thursday, 1st of March. Mr. Muir of St. James' is to preside, so that I may expect my duty to be told me in pretty plain but I hope not coarse terms. It was my own wish to have Mr. Muir, in preference to two *Moderés* with whom the honour was disputed, as I was very desirous that on the solemn occasion my own mind, as well as the minds of the people, should be warmed and impressed, which Mr. Muir is very able, I understand, to do, though sometimes unfortunately a little *outré*." "I was very sorry—almost a little angry—when I read your last letter. How could you expect me, in my present circumstances, to visit you at Burntisland? How awkward it must have appeared, and how inconsiderate with such a prospect before me, instead of devoting myself to preparation for my clerical vocation to be scampering athwart the country."

Among the sixteen Presbyters who shared in Leishman's ordination, several were of eminence in the Church, notably Dr. William Muir, afterwards of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, and Dr. John Lockhart of the Black Friars Church, Glasgow, father of Scott's biographer. The Presiding Presbyter, Mr. John Muir, was in his day a leading figure among the Glasgow clergy. He was probably

[27] M. L. to C. W., 28 Nov., 1820.

the last clergyman in the West country to walk abroad in knee breeches and buckled shoon. As minister of Lecropt he had early attracted attention by his parts and piety, coupled with a singular vein of humour. Shortly after his ordination, riding over to a neighbouring Communion, he met an old woman with whom he fell into conversation; being on her way to the Sacrament, she ran over the names of the local clergy who were expected to take part. Among them was the Minister of Lecropt. "He is a poor preacher, they say, and his name is Muir. But, eh! sir, it is a puir Muir the Lord's sheep canna get something aff." In the autumn of 1820, the living of St. James', Glasgow, then in the gift of the Town Council, fell vacant. The Magistrates, eager to secure Muir, sent a deputation of fifteen, headed by the Lord Provost,[28] to prosecute a *call*, before the Presbytery of Dunblane. Thither they repaired in "three coaches, four horses in each, and two postillions in red jackets."[29] Three days later they returned triumphant, and Muir was installed by the Presbytery. The ministry thus picturesquely begun continued with unbroken success till Dr. Muir's death in 1857. After the "earthquake" (for so he usually styled the secession), his wit and learning made Muir a tower of strength to the Church in Glasgow. His Thursday morning sermons in particular always drew crowds.

Upon Sunday, March 4th, Dr. Scott of Greenock introduced Matthew Leishman to his charge, select-

[28] Henry Monteith of Carstairs.

[29] This expedition cost the city £107 6s. 5d.

ing as his text:—*I will give you pastors according to mine heart.*[30] Later in the day Leishman preached from the words:—*This also we wish, even your perfection.*[31] With what reverence Leishman entered on his holy office is clear from various entries in his diary. "I trust I shall be enabled, through the grace of God, to do my duty conscientiously and become the means of saving many souls from destruction." "I got over my first Sacrament," he adds later, "better than I expected, and since then have been labouring very hard."

Not easy is it for the Govan visitor of to-day to picture the scene, on that March morning in 1821, when Leishman knelt on the earthen floor of the Village Church to receive "*The laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*" Without lay the quiet riverside hamlet, not yet transformed into a busy hive of human industry. Salmon leapt at the Broomielaw, while hares[32] sported on ground which now vibrates to the heart-beat of the "second city in the Empire." Kine lowed and birds sang where to-day the ear is deafened by the incessant clang of "busy hammers fixing rivets up." There were then thirty resident lairds, and the Parish was studded with the country mansions of Glasgow tobacco lords who found here a pleasant retreat from the Saltmarket.

Situate on the Clyde, two miles below Glasgow, Govan in 1821 was a rural parish of large extent, and

[30] Jer. III. 15. [31] 2 Cor. XIII. 9.

[32] Colin Dunlop Donald, *d.* 1859, a prominent Glasgow citizen, could recall shooting hares on the site of the Western Club, now in the very heart of the city. See *Memoirs and Portraits of a Hundred Glasgow Men.*

in those early days Leishman farmed his glebe. In 1826 we find one field laid down in barley, and Leishman directing the reapers. His stipend was paid in kind, and the Govan tithe chest, bought in at Dr. Pollock's sale, is still in existence. From Glasgow, the road leading to Govan, then infested by footpads, was an *eerie* one to travel on a dark winter's night. The village consisted of one "long straggling street lined on either side by rows of thatched cottages occupied by hand-loom weavers. Nearly every window was a miniature flower garden, in which the scarlet geranium predominated." The Govan weavers were "born controversialists, in their own eyes even theologians." Many a long and spicy argument had they among themselves over such deep questions as Fore-ordination, Perseverance of the Saints, Patronage, the Headship of Christ, and kindred topics.[33] Family prayer and praise were then universal and rarely divorced.[34] At sundown, when the click of the handloom had ceased, from under the thatch stole the pleasant sound of the evening psalm. At the Manse, Leishman himself usually led the singing, morning and evening. Down by the river, surrounded by fine old elm trees, in which colonies of rooks had nested from time immemorial, rose the Church and Manse, with its many windows, a grief of mind to the incumbent in view of the window tax. Hard by the Church was the *Doomster hill*, a large grass mound on the margin

[33] Recollections of James Croil, Montreal.

[34] Once when visiting at Hillhead, Leishman put the usual question to a collier's wife, in her husband's absence, whether he kept up family worship; the shamefaced answer was:—"No; you see, Sir, he canna' sing ony, although there isna a better whistler in a' the raw."

of the river, centre of a small holding known as the *Hillock*, then tenanted by a certain John Robertson, an old Oakshaw retainer. A picture[35] of this spot, formerly in Leishman's possession, reveals old Govan in time of harvest, showing the Ferry, the end of the Water Row, and the church spire, which long served as a landmark for vessels coming up the river. Clyde was still a beautiful, untainted, winding stream, haunt of the kingfisher, coot, and waterhen, so shallow at Govan Ferry that a child could wade across in a dry season,[36] not as now, with corners clipt, a deep ditch, a waterway for the world's navigation, and as artificial in its upper reaches as the Canal at Suez. Govan, in short, was, as Leishman describes it, "a beautiful place;" such a spot as "the genius of a Gray or a Kirke White would have rejoiced to linger over and embalm in imperishable memorial."

Early in June, 1821, Leishman revisited Burntisland as groomsman at Charles Watson's wedding to Isabella Boog, meeting, in her sister bridesmaid, his future wife. "You may well boast," writes Leishman, "on leaving me far behind, but I must try to follow you as fast as I can."[37] "Did you see Legh Richmond's daughter when she was in Scotland? It is she who has stolen poor James' heart. He, poor

[35] The picture is unsigned, but "internal evidence points to its being the work of W. L. Leitch (1804–1833) who painted largely on the banks of the Clyde. Beginning as a water-colourist, Leitch became a scene-painter, and the picture shows marked signs of both methods." For this note I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Caw of the Scottish National Gallery.

[36] When James Watt made his survey of the river in 1770, the depth at that point was 3 feet 6 inches. To-day, at low water, it draws 34 feet.

[37] M. L. to C. W., 22nd April, 1822.

fellow, will be in misery. He has not a sixpence but his stipend, and she as little." James Marshall here alluded to, one of the ministers of Glasgow Cathedral, and among the presbyters who had taken part in Leishman's ordination, was the son of a Rothesay surgeon, but educated at Paisley. In the following spring, he married Katherine Mary Richmond. It stands to the credit of her father, the Rector of Turvey, a great light in Evangelical circles, that, on this visit to the North, he persuaded the Duke of Argyll to secure the restoration of Divine Service at Iona. In 1841, sick of the strife of tongues which culminated two years later, Marshall resigned his living, and went over to the Church of England.[38]

Postal facilities at Govan were somewhat primitive, the staff consisting of one old man who walked out daily from Glasgow.[39] On 9th September, 1822, the year of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh, Leishman writes to Watson:—"Your letter has been hunting me all over Scotland. At last it has come, opened. You must recollect that though this village is a place of great consequence in my eyes, Govan is not a post town. Edinburgh only held me for three days. Everybody seems to have been fascinated with the appearance and manners of the royal visitor. I don't know how you felt in his presence. But one afternoon when I met Dr. Chalmers in St. Andrew Square, before we had time to exchange salutations, he broke out:—'Do you think it is possible to look at the King without liking him? "

[38] Died, 1855, Rector of St. Mary-le-port, Bristol.

[39] The "Johnny Waddel" of a century ago is now replaced by 48 postmen, with a daily delivery of 15,000 letters.

In connection with the landing of George IV. at Leith, the following anecdote is told illustrative of the rivalry existent between the Modern Athens and its Piræus. When James Leechman, a son of Scott's first schoolmaster, was preparing to present a loyal address to the King, in due form, on bended knee, on behalf of the city of Edinburgh, a Leith Magistrate pushed past, and seizing the King's hand, "with more cordiality than ceremony," congratulated His Majesty on his safe arrival.[40] In 1827 Leechman's name appears in the Council Records as "Admiral and Baron of Leith."

11th Jan., 1823. "When you next write to any of your clerical friends in Edinburgh, I beg of you to enquire if they have it in their power to procure for a friend a situation as private tutor in a family where interest might ultimately be secured. He is a cousin of mine, and has been three years in the Hall. A good classical scholar, I think I can recommend him for his piety, temper, etc." Robert Leishman, the cousin in question, shortly afterwards (possibly in consequence of this letter) became Chaplain and private tutor to the Earl of Airlie. After a residence of nearly twenty years at Airlie House, he was presented by his pupil, in 1843, to the living of Clunie in Perthshire, with its beautiful loch and island castle, reputed birthplace of "the admirable Crichton." Here he married his cousin,[41] "a little black-eyed Susan of a woman," who died without issue. Till quite recently, old people could remember Robert Leishman as "a tall, handsome

[40] *Memoirs of Adam Black*, p. 236.

[41] Elizabeth Gibb, 2 July, 1844.

man with courtly manners." Upon his grave beside the Church porch at Clunie, a white rose tree still annually sheds its leaves.

In the spring of 1823, Leishman found a new friend. "Mr. Lockhart of Inchinnan," he writes, "has become a parishioner of mine, at Moss House.[42] His manse is at present re-building. He is a very pleasant neighbour, and we often take sweet counsel together." At Lockhart's manse Leishman passed many pleasant hours. Thither, on almost his last visit to Clydesdale, came another visitor. "We walked," says Sir Walter, "to Lawrence Lockhart's of Inchinnan, within a mile of Blythswood House. It is extremely nice and comfortable, far beyond the style of a Scotch clergyman; but Lawrence is wealthy. I found John Lockhart and Sophia there."[43] With Leishman it was a subject of frequent regret that he just missed meeting Scott on this occasion, entering the manse study as Scott left. Among the laity, Leishman found another friend in the well-known Glasgow bookseller and publisher, John Smith, from whom he gleaned many an interesting anecdote. "Shortly after the publication of *The Antiquary* in May, 1816, Scott, returning from a three weeks' tour in the Highlands with his daughters, came to Glasgow, and called upon Smith to request of him a "day's darg." After dining together, Scott casually asked his host what the public were saying about *The Antiquary*, accounted by Lockhart, in many respects, his best

[42] This mansion, the property of Robert Douie Urquhart, Esq., still stands.

[43] Scott's *Journal*, 447. Sept. 7th, 1827. Also Lockhart VII. 69.

novel. On Smith replying it did not seem to have come up to expectation, Scott exclaimed with some heat: — "Most absurd! Is there any scene in *Waverley* to compare with the death of Steenie Mucklebacket?"[44] "From that moment," said Smith to Leishman, "I felt convinced he was the author of the novels."

"Soon after Chalmers settled in Glasgow, he and Smith made a tour through the Highlands, and came to Kenmore at the time of the St. Fillan's Games.[45] After engaging a room in which were two beds, they dined with a large and miscellaneous company in the inn stable. Late in the evening they were told by their Highland hostess that, owing to a mistake, she had promised one of the beds to two Englishmen. 'What *are* we to do?' exclaimed Dr. Chalmers; this is intolerable.' 'Do as I do,' replied Smith, 'and say as I say.' Possession being nine points of the law, after taking the precaution to bolt the door, they retired early to rest. Presently the voices of the Englishmen were heard demanding admittance. Smith replied gruffly in Gaelic, or what he meant should pass for Gaelic. Chalmers immediately followed suit in a loud and seemingly angry tone. 'Highland savages!' cried one of the Englishmen, 'I will not sleep—not I, in the same room with two Highland savages,' and promptly made off with his companion, leaving the conspirators full of mirth, and masters

[44] *The Antiquary*, Chap. XXXI., and Lockhart IV. 11.

[45] 3 July, 1815. Chalmers' first public appearance in Glasgow was on the 30th March preceding, when he preached before the *Society of the Sons of the Clergy*.

of the situation. In a similar predicament, when touring in Devon, two years later, the same travelling companions obtained more exalted accommodation as guests of the Governor at Plymouth. One was assigned the King of Prussia's bed, and the other the King of Saxony's, recently occupied by these monarchs on their visit to this country."

"15th August, 1823. I am sorry to hear of the state poor Vernon is in. He always looked consumptive. I sincerely hope his residence in a milder climate may help to restore him to health." This mention of James Vernon, a former classfellow of Leishman's, stirs the ashes of a long dead romance. Nephew of William Tassie, the cameoist, Vernon came north in 1812 to study Divinity at Edinburgh, and, while visiting at Seaside House, fell in love with Charles Watson's younger sister, Barbara, and they became engaged. But somehow the pigs ran through the clover. It was a case of *Miles Standish*. Besought by a bashful friend to woo a coy maiden on his behalf, Vernon played his part so effectively as to arouse the jealousy of Barbara, who terminated the engagement. Heartbroken, he left Edinburgh, and, taking English orders, became curate of Seaham in the Diocese of Durham. Soon after, he fell into a consumption. When news of his death reached Edinburgh, Barbara Watson took to bed with a violent illness and became a life-long victim of hypochondria. Like Tennyson's *Dora*, she "lived unmarried to her death." Her back windows in Hailes Street overlooked the garden of a Roman Catholic Convent. In her zeal for the conversion of these "Little

Sisters of the Poor," she adopted a somewhat novel device, daily shedding over their wall several leaves of the Westminster *Shorter Catechism.*

On the eve of his marriage, Leishman writes to Watson:—"Last Sunday everything went delightfully. Dr. Chalmers declares he never preached with such comfort anywhere as in my '*tent.*'[46] . . . Dr. Chalmers is to preach nowhere but in his Chapel. There is a great outcry against him and the other proprietors. It is said his coming here is a job. They have let by his preaching, or intending to preach, nearly five hundred seats already."

Although in his Govan Chapels the rented pew was almost a necessary evil, in the interests of the poor Leishman deplored the dearth of free seats. He also took the somewhat unusual step of declining to receive marriage fees. "Captain Hamilton sent me in return for my services a £10 bank note which, with many thanks I returned," apparently on the high ground that the Scottish Parish clergy did not sell Divine ordinances. "I received a polite letter of apology from the Captain, saying that he had not acted without first consulting his brother, Colonel West-Hamilton, who told him that when he was married he made a similar present to Dr. Pollock (Leishman's predecessor), which was cheerfully accepted; also that he did the same thing to the clergyman who had married him to his second wife in Ayrshire. . . . Other people may feel differently, but, the truth is, had I accepted the fee

[46] A canopied wooden pulpit set up in the churchyard at Sacramental seasons.

From a Water-Colour Sketch

JANE ELISABETH BOOG

Facing page 03

sent, I feel as if I could not afterwards have looked either of the parties in the face."

Leishman's own marriage, which took place at Burntisland, on 13th July, 1824, proved a union almost idyllic. No two people were ever more devotedly attached. "Absence from you for a week," his wife wrote long afterwards, "means, remember, a week's banishment"; while, in her, Matthew Leishman found a devoted companion and true helpmate. A somewhat crude schoolgirl sketch in water colours,[47] depicts her a meek maiden of the Georgian era, with raven ringlets, almond shaped eyes, and high waisted frock.

Born, 15th May, 1803, at Place Green[48] in Kent, Jane Elisabeth Boog was christened in the Parish Church of Chislehurst by the devout, if eccentric, rector, John Simons, a well known leader of the Evangelical Party within the Church of England. Simons was a great admirer of Scotland, and all things Scottish, down to oatmeal porridge, which Robert Story of Rosneath taught him to concoct on one of his visits to Paul's Cray, Simons' living in Kent.

Both her parents[49] were interesting personalities. Her mother, Robina Elisabeth Anderson, orphaned in infancy, was sent by her guardians, at the age of eleven, for education to a convent of Augustinian nuns at Paris. Here she remained till her twenty-fourth year, and used to recall playing under the

[47] A full length portrait in oils, by that prince of *raconteurs* Sir Daniel Macnee, was painted in 1871.

[48] Now known as *Sidcup Place.*

[49] See Appendix E.

trees in the Bois de Boulogne before the Revolution. This convent, afterwards transferred to Neuilly, then stood in the Rue Fossés-Saint-Victor. Among its later pupils was Armentine Dudevant, better known as *George Sand*.[50]

Her father, Robert Boog, a Jamaica merchant, narrowly escaped with his life during the Insurrection at San Domingo,[51] thanks to the timely warning of a negro housekeeper, who hurried him into the woods. Ensconced among the branches of a tall tree, peering through the foliage, he saw bands of insurgent negroes pass beneath his hiding-place, bent on murder and pillage. Descending at nightfall, he made his way to the beach, whence, despite the risk of sharks, he swam out to a British war vessel, and so escaped.

In the autumn of 1808 the Boog family left Kent and settled at Burntisland. The house they occupied had been the early home of Mary Somerville, the celebrated astronomer, a kinswoman through the marriage of her uncle William H. Charteris, a friend of Warren Hastings, to Christian Boog.[52] In the spring of 1812, while Napoleon was marching upon Moscow, French prisoners were often landed at Burntisland on their way to Perth. "Some were sent to Jedburgh Castle and when out on parole, used to visit Dr. Somerville at the manse. One, in particular, a Chevalier Espinasse, afterwards became

[50] For an interesting account of this now suppressed religious house, see *Un Couvent de Réligieuses Anglaises à Paris, De 1634 à 1884.* Par l'Abbé Cédoz. Also George Sand's *Histoire de ma Vie*, p. 83.

[51] Aug. 23, 1791.

[52] For account of this house and its inmates, see *Memoirs of Mary Somerville*, pp. 10, 35.

well known in Edinburgh as a teacher of French. The captives used to make wonderfully beautiful carved curios out of the meat bones which they got in prison."[53] That same autumn, while walking with his wife in his garden at Burntisland one Sunday morning, just after return from church, where they had heard Dr. Chalmers preach, Robert Boog fell dead.[54] His widow retired to their town house, 28 Dundas Street, then and for long afterwards, the "most northernly house" on that side of Edinburgh.[55]

In girlhood Jane Boog worshipped at St. George's Church, Edinburgh, under Dr. Andrew Thomson, an intimate friend of the family. She used to quote often his admonition to the young:—"Remember always that you are baptized children of God." Several winters she spent with Mrs. Grant of Laggan,[56] who introduced her to Edinburgh society, and she had many interesting recollections, including the appearance of the first steamboat seen upon the Forth, supposed by many to be "a vessel on fire"; and the last duel fought on Scottish soil, in a field near Auchtertool. Walking on the beach soon after sunrise one March morning in 1822, she encountered among the bent two figures who passed hastily down to the shore and, embarking in a boat which lay in waiting, rowed out

[53] Mrs. Leven's MS. *Reminiscences.*

[54] August 30, 1812.

[55] My grandmother could remember, in childhood, going with the Leven family to get warm milk from the cows, which then grazed in meadows where now stand St. Stephen's Church and the Edinburgh Academy.

[56] (1755-1838) Authoress of *Letters from the Mountains.*

to a small vessel in the offing. It was James Stewart of Dunearn, with his second, flying to France, where he gave himself up to Sir Charles Stuart, the British Ambassador at Paris, for the murder of Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck.[57]

After a brief wedding tour, made in a post chaise, through the Perthshire Highlands, Matthew Leishman and his bride came home to the old manse on the Clyde.

In those early days at Govan, Edward Irving's giant form often graced the chimney corner in the manse study. Bating what Scott calls his "diabolical squint,"[58] which to his friends rather lent piquancy to a dark, bandit-like face, Irving in physique was a kingly figure, with a head like a young Greek god, and a voice of rare melody and strength. Many a tale, grave and gay, Leishman had to tell in after years of his ever welcome guest. Apostolic even in style and manner of speech—"Madam, I should wish some bread and wine," was his mode of accepting, on arrival, the proffered hospitality of the lady of the manse. Although by nature eminently companionable, Irving all through life, perhaps as a penalty due to unique popularity, had few clerical friends. "It has been my hard lot," he complains, "to have found few brethren in the ministry of Christ, the more do I love those I have found."[59] In Leishman, the lone "antique Evan-

[57] See *Trial of James Stuart Yr. of Dunearn for the Murder of Sir Alex. Boswell*, in a Duel, 26th March, 1822.

[58] *Journal*, 700.

[59] *Ben Ezra*, xix. 120, 231.

gelist walking his stony course,"[60] detected a kindred spirit. When not spent in boating on the Gareloch or walking in Rosneath woods with Story, any hours Irving could snatch from missionary toils under Chalmers, among the closes and wynds of Glasgow, were passed in the rustic seclusion of Govan. Irving, it must be remembered, had a local connection, his youngest sister being wedded to a certain Warrand Carlile at Paisley. Among Leishman's papers is a sketch of the elder Carlile and his wife, whose grandson, Gavin, afterwards edited a standard edition of the works of his celebrated uncle. These Carliles, "Annan people a century back," came of the same stock as "the sage of Chelsea," and in the autumn of 1819, the year of Irving's first coming to Glasgow, while Matthew Leishman still dwelt under his father's roof at Oakshaw, Irving and Thomas Carlyle turned aside, while on a walking tour, to visit these Paisley cousins. Irving was a man of "surprising agility," and the same *joie de vivre* which prompted him on one occasion to dance the Highland fling on the village green at Rosneath, led him on another, to leap ashore at Govan Ferry, while the boat was still far from the beach. The feat was accomplished with success, but not without direful results to his nether integuments which were badly torn in the process. Hard by stood a cottage tenanted by a certain "Nanny Campbell," whose husband was a tailor, and there, garbed, village tradition said, in

[60] Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, 265.

"Nanny's best Sunday petticoat," Irving sat for a whole hour charming the rustic couple with his discourse till the rent was repaired. After London[61] claimed Irving in July 1822, the friends met but seldom. In a letter dated:—"7 Middleton Terrace, Pentonville, 17th April, 1823," on the eve of his journey north to marry Isabella Martin, Irving thus introduces to Leishman's notice "a most worthy young man, Mr. Blyth,[62] the son of the father of our presbytery here, who is to pass the winter at Glasgow College. He intends to come out in the ministry of the Church of Scotland, and if you can be of service in putting him into the way of future prosperity, it is well; but I rather wish him to see in you a faithful Minister of the Gospel, and an accomplished gentleman, and for that end I am giving him this introduction. I shall see you in Scotland before this is handed to you." The stress and strain of London life proved too great for Irving. Ten years later he returned to Glasgow to die. Almost his last walk was to Erskine Manse to consult his friend Dr. Stewart, but his case was past all human aid, and December saw him laid to rest in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral.

[61] Sir David Wilkie was largely responsible for securing Irving for the Caledonian Chapel. In his celebrated picture, *John Knox preaching before Queen Mary*, Wilkie has reproduced Irving's features in those of the Reformer.

[62] John David Blyth was a native of Woolwich. He afterwards studied Medicine and practised for some time at Hexham, dying a naval surgeon.

CHAPTER III

Early Ministry in Govan

1824—1842

"The Presbyterian no less than the Roman or Anglican, believed in a Church, visible, universal, and divinely ordered. . . . The Presbyterian was in fact the High Catholic of Puritanism and the Genevan type of Catholicism was even less Erastian than the Roman." Marriott.

IT has been too much the fashion to depict the dawn of the nineteenth century as a period of chilly formalism, and the Scottish clergy, as a not very elevated class, "mouldering in their parishes."[1] Closer inspection reveals the inaccuracy of this description. Seldom indeed had the vessel of the Church been better manned. The Manses of that day, the rural and the urban alike, harboured in general a race of quiet, duty-doing men, who, in a dark season, held aloft the torch of religion and morals, while in regard to such vital matters as Church schools, Church discipline, catechizing of the young, pastoral visitation, prayer and preaching, their pastoral care and fidelity might put many a modern cleric to the blush. The old Evangelical party in particular, the spiritual progeny of such men as Boston of Ettrick or Willison of Dundee, were anything but a feeble folk, and exhibited in their public teaching a doctrinal backbone and a

[1] Cockburn's *Memorials*, 225.

leaven of Church principle less frequently discernible in these latter days.

After his settlement at Govan, Leishman's first care was to secure a new church. As a Prebend of Glasgow Cathedral, Govan formerly boasted a church in complete accord with its ecclesiastical dignity, a fine Norman structure, its "pillars, arches, and doorways profusely enriched with Romanesque carvings and interlaced knotwork." The monuments, known as hog-backed stones, still preserved in the Churchyard, were set, we are told, at intervals round the ancient building.[2] Under semi-circular arches rested three early *sarcophagi.* There was also an upright Celtic cross, "covered with Runic knotwork." For some time after the Reformation the living went with the Principalship of Glasgow College, the first to serve the cure being the celebrated Andrew Melville. About the middle of the eighteenth century the University presented to Govan a certain William Thom, a provincial Sydney Smith, who in 1762 succeeded in having the ancient church demolished, and replaced by the barn-like edifice in which Leishman was ordained. Thom was the original of Dean Ramsay's tale of the minister who at an ordination, being unable to get near, reached forth his staff, and touching the head of the kneeling candidate for Holy Orders was heard to mutter:—"Timmer to timmer." The structure erected for Mr. Thom had, happily, only a brief existence. In July, 1824, Leishman writes:—"The church I think must be condemned. The architect

[2] This on the testimony of the builder who contracted for its removal in 1762. See *Celticism a Myth*, Roger, 46.

AUG.t EDOUART FECIT

MATTHEW LEISHMAN

1831

declares in his report that the roof is gone; the back wall falling, and that the side walls ought to be rebuilt." Begun in the spring of 1825, from plans furnished by James Smith,[3] of Jordanhill, the well-known geologist and man of letters, the new church was a plain, simple building, whose chief beauty lay in its well-shaped spire, a replica of that at Stratford-on-Avon.[4] Ecclesiology in Scotland being then in its infancy, the new church was accounted "a beautiful edifice" and received with universal admiration. The stagnation in trade then prevalent led to the bankruptcy of the builder and for weeks the work was at a standstill. "I do not know whether the distress, which has so deeply affected the commercial and manufacturing world, has reached Burntisland, but it has at length spread to this quarter. There are about seventy weavers in the parish without work, and the number is increasing every day. I have had fourteen of them for nearly a fortnight digging one of my fields."[5] By July, 1826, the building was ready for worship. Leishman preached at its opening from the words of Habakkuk—*The Lord is in His Holy Temple*, and again in the afternoon from Romans xv. 30.[6] "The collection for the poor weavers amounted to nearly £30."

[3] Author of *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.*

[4] The Norman tower on the Church of the Holy Trinity at Stratford was destroyed in the 14th century. The present stone spire replaced one of wood and lead in September, 1763.

[5] M. L. to C. W., 6 April, 1826.

[6] "Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me."

The Sacrament of Holy Communion was celebrated on the Sunday following. "Everything went smoothly. I was annoyed, however, by a letter received from the proprietors of a public work in the neighbourhood, excusing themselves for carrying on their operations on the 'Fast Day.' I have since called and got an assurance that we shall not be subjected again to a similar outrage."

The "Fast Day" at that period was more than a name. "The end of Fasting," says Leishman in an early Sacramental Address, "is to humble the body to the spirit. Give yourselves then to prayer and abstinence, that ye may at this time attend only upon God." His eldest son could recall his father ordering the removal of meat from the breakfast table:—"you forget surely that this is a 'Fast Day.'"

In his Journal, 7th May, 1825, Leishman records the birth of his first-born. "This day at one o'clock my dear wife presented me with a son.[7] May he grow up in the fear of the Lord, and in favour with God and man." To Watson he writes—"The parsonet[8] is as well as possible. He is to be baptized on Sunday. Dr. Lockhart [incumbent of the Black Friars Church, Glasgow] is to perform that office."

Matthew Leishman's views on Baptism were in strict accordance with the Standards of the Church. If he did not, like Irving, twice a year read to his flock the *Scots Confession of Faith* of 1560, he endorsed its sacramental teaching as enshrined in

[7] Thomas, Moderator of the General Assembly in 1898.

[8] The parson dearly loved his darling pets,
Sweet, little, ruddy, ragged parsonets."
GEO. COLMAN, *Poetical Vagaries.*

the sentence selected by Irving as the keynote of his *Homilies on Baptism*:—"We utterly condemn the vanity of those who affirm Sacraments to be nothing but naked and bare signs." It is significant that these Homilies when published in 1827 excited no surprise, although Irving's views seem, to his modern biographer,[9] to "differ by the merest hair's-breadth of distinction" from "those of the High Church party of England who hold baptismal regeneration." As matter of fact it may be maintained reasonably that what the Westminster Confession itself teaches is baptismal regeneration qualified by the doctrine of election: in other words, that Baptism is the occasion and instrument of the regeneration of the regenerate—"those to whom the grace doth belong." At few points perhaps has popular religion drifted so far from confessional moorings. Leishman, like Irving,[10] was early led by bereavement to look deeply into the meaning of Baptism. Having buried in infancy no less than seven out of his thirteen children he sought solace in the Church's doctrine of Baptismal grace. "How is it," he exclaims, "that presumptuous men, professing to reverence the Scriptures, consider themselves warranted to represent the dedication of the children of Christian parents to their God and Saviour to be an *unmeaning* service? God bestows upon children, by outward means, many marks of His love and favour. It rejoices the heart of a pious father and mother,

[9] Mrs. Oliphant *Life of Irving*, 111.

[10] Irving's "little Edward" died in the autumn of 1825.

therefore, to believe that by means of the water of Baptism, the sin inherited by their children from our first parents may be washed away and their corrupt nature sanctified. Undoubtedly God, for reasons of His own, does not always bless what man does. He can carry out His purposes of mercy without, as well as by, the use of means which He Himself has appointed. Let Christian parents, however, be deprived of their children by the hand of death when young—and none but parents can tell what a sore trial that is—what a source of consolation it is for them to know, that by means of an ordinance of His own institution, they have in the exercise of faith and hope presented their offspring to the Saviour. They can then think of their little children as being far better and happier where they now are, elevated to the rank and admitted into the society of Angels and Archangels. They can think of them as for ever removed from the pollutions of the world and delivered from its sorrows, as being uncorrupt and incorruptible, no longer children in understanding and knowledge, but as knowing far more than their parents, and the wisest of us here, of the plans, purposes, and works of the Almighty."[11]

Similar doctrine dropped from his lips on many occasions, notably at Linton where he baptized seven grandchildren. His youngest grandson there was probably the first child christened at the ancient

[11] Sermon on St. Matt. xix. 14, preached at Maxwell Church, Glasgow, 4th February, 1866, at the christening of Isabella Maxwell, daughter of Rev. Archibald Scott, and repeated at Linton Church on the following Sunday.

Norman font since the Reformation. After a banishment of over three centuries this venerable relic, large enough for the use of immersion, was restored to the sanctuary in 1868, when Matthew Leishman preached at its rededication.

At Govan, save in cases of necessity, Baptism was seldom administered in private, the sacred rite being usually prefaced by what then formed the sole Baptismal[12] Hymn of the Scottish Church :—

> "When to the sacred font we came,
> did not the rite proclaim,
> That, washed from sin, and all its stains,
> new creatures we became?"

Watson being now in ill-health and resident at Sidmouth in Devon, we find Leishman on his way to celebrate Communion at Burntisland. Crossing the Firth of Forth he encountered a storm of unusual severity. "The old carrier woman on board, seeing my head emerge from the companion to survey the turmoil of the elements, saluted me in her despair:—'O, Mr. Leishman, I'd rather hear you an hour in the pulpit than have you ten minutes here!'" On the beach at Burntisland he was met by Mr. Martin, the father-in-law of Edward Irving. On Sunday, Leishman notes, "we had four tables and a remnant, more fortunate than the minister of Colinton [Lewis Balfour], in whose church on the same day only ten communicants were visible, and no elders but the school master. As the public coaches were stopped, I proceeded next day

[12] This Paraphrase of Romans vi. 1-7, we owe in its present shape to Cameron of Kirknewton, no less exact as a theologian than tuneful as a poet.

to the 'Plasterer's Inn,' Petticur, in a post-chaise and four, thence walked to Leslie and made my way home by Dysart, took steam-boat to Edinburgh and coach to Glasgow, arriving at midnight. We had six horses, but I never thought we would get beyond the Kirk of Shotts, as we travelled between walls of snow, in some parts higher than the heads of the outside passengers. To the relief and joy of my friends, I arrived at Paisley on Sunday morning before breakfast."[13]

Although now "lying safely in the harbour of matrimony," Leishman's port was not without its anxieties. In the autumn of 1827 his wife was stricken with an illness so severe, that on 24th October the physician at mid-day thought her dying. Fortunately the patient's mother, who had gained considerable skill in nursing among the Augustinian nuns at Paris, was in Scotland at the time and hastened to the bedside of her sick daughter. "To write or preach just now is out of the question; Dr. MacGill[14] therefore preached for me last Sunday. Dr. Chalmers has got the offer of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, and is hesitating about accepting. He is, I hear, very far from comfortable at St. Andrews." Speaking of his wife's illness, Leishman adds, "no two persons could be happier than she and I have been for the last three years. Our Heavenly Father no doubt saw we needed this chastisement. The sight most difficult to bear is that of my two infants kissing their hands

[13] M. L. to C. W. 19th March, 1827.

[14] Stevenson MacGill, D.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Glasgow.

From Miniatures

ROBERT BOOG AND ROBINA ELISABETH ANDERSON

17[illegible] 1[illegible] 17[illegible] 1[illegible]

to their sick mother, utterly unconscious of the nature of the loss with which they are threatened. I need not ask your sympathy and your prayers." In docketing this letter, Watson adds Trajan's saying about his sword—*Pro me si recte agam si aliter in me.* After fifteen weeks the fever abated and the invalid, "although still exceedingly weak, wasted almost to a shadow," reports to her sister in Devon, that she is "down for the first time and able to enjoy her Christmas goose in the library."

About this period Church politics began to creep in, and forecasts of coming trouble. On 3rd July, 1827, Leishman writes to Watson:—"Mr. Canning is imprudence personified. His recent attack upon the Peers will bring an old house about his ears, as his foolish gasconading in regard to France was likely to do before. You will find the present Cabinet will be a short-lived one. Welsh" [the last Moderator of the unbroken Church] "is elected to St. David's. I understand he will accept. Story of Rosneath is very unwell. He got cold, by his own folly, crossing to Rosneath in an open boat, and has been laid up for nearly three months; he is now in London with Irving. The church of Rutherglen has three presentations now lying on the Presbytery table. So much for the wisdom and harmony of popular elections. By the way, how is that puny child, of which you are one of the guardians, the 'Anti-Patronage Society,' coming on? Crosbie[15] has left Birmingham and has since resided in Glasgow. I have found him

[15] John Geddes Crosbie. Presented to Fenwick by the Earl of Glasgow, 1829, resigned his charge—"on conscientious grounds," as an Irvingite, April, 1836. See *Presb. Reg.* and Scott's *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*, 1920.

to be somewhat tinged with the Geneva heresy,[16] which, though not spreading widely I hope, is making a great noise here at present. We disputed the matter one day for nearly three hours without coming to any agreement. On Sunday, however, he was somewhat more reasonable. I had not heard that Wylie of Carluke was infected. Story, I knew before, was, but upon Campbell's authority only."

Leishman's estimate of John Macleod Campbell, if unusual, is of interest as that of a contemporary. "25th December, 1827. Campbell preached in Glasgow last Monday for the benefit of some charitable Institution. A great many ministers went to hear. Poor fellow, he has laboured under great disadvantages, . . . and his quondam Moderate friends are more likely to put him wrong than right. Having become somewhat serious, he has fallen a victim to the first delusion that was presented to him in the persons of serious men. He has consorted, I believe, a good deal with Malan and Mejanel.[17] Mr Macfarlane of St. Enoch's has gone into his new church, which is very splendid, and has among other decorations a painted window; the subject is—Christ blessing the children—taken from a picture by West."[18]

[16] Arianism and Semi-Pelagianism were then dominant in the Genevan Church.

[17] Genevan pastors and Ultra-Calvinists. The former, afterwards deprived of his charge for "heresy." See *Vie de César Malan*, by his son. For facts on "Geneva heresy" I am indebted to Professor J. E. Choisy, Geneva. Leishman's judgment of Campbell was based of course largely on conjecture regarding an undeveloped situation. *The Nature of the Atonement*, one of the "most original contributions to Theology of which Scotland can boast," and the book which vindicated Campbell's position as a Theologian, did not appear till 1856.

[18] Benjamin West, the fashionable Scripture painter of the day.

"Edinburgh, 30th May, 1827. Dr. Chalmers, who was in London opening Mr. Irving's new church, did not appear in the Assembly until the Wednesday. His speech on the Bracadale case[19] was a splendid and powerful one, and led to the deliverance which was concocted in the lobby by James Moncreiff and the Solicitor-General."

Through his friendship for Irving and Story, Leishman was brought into close touch with both the Irvingite and Rowite movements. "The parishioners of Row are preparing a petition to the Presbytery to take cognizance of Mr. Campbell's doctrine. These, I believe, are some of his present dogmas. He considers that God must love good and bad men alike, that Christ died for all men, that the sins of all men are pardoned previous to repentance, that the atonement is not necessary, but was simply a display of Divine love, that it is foolish to pray for forgiveness, and when a minister prepares his sermon, he shows a want of confidence in the influence of the Spirit. Mr Erskine,[20] who has been at Ardincaple the whole of this summer, when calling upon my sister Janet, told her in answer to something that she said, that she did not need to pray for the forgiveness of her sins. 'How can that be!' said Janet, 'when in the form of prayer which Christ taught His disciples there is a petition for forgiveness?' 'Oh,' rejoined the sapient interpreter of Scripture, 'that does not mean

[19] That of the notorious "Rory" Macleod, suspended by the Presbytery of Skye for refusal to administer Baptism to the child of one of his parishioners.

[20] Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870).

that we are to pray for forgiveness, but that we are to go to God just as a child who knew that his father had forgiven him would still go to him and say:—*Father, forgive me.*' One would think Mr. Erskine had been educated in the school of Dr. Priestley."[21]

During the Rowite agitation, Leishman writes: "I was at Rosneath preaching for Story the other day. He is not returned from England yet, where he has been visiting Irving. I did not see Campbell, who was in the Highlands. Their parishes I found in a state of the greatest ferment. Story sent to his people some time ago a pastoral letter which he had read to them by Mr. Campbell, and which was a kind of recantation of the doctrines which he had formerly preached. This, as you can well imagine, has produced a strong sensation. At the close of sermon I intended to say something on the point of Assurance, but the word had no sooner left my lips than every eye was upon me, and there prevailed the deepest silence. Deprived somewhat of my self-possession, in the agitation of the moment I expressed myself much more strongly and decidedly than I had been previously resolved to do. I have since not been sorry that I did. The converts in both parishes I am told do not exceed half a dozen, and these principally females, so that the teachers are but 'leading captive silly women.'"[22]

August, 1828, was spent with Charles Watson in

[21] Joseph Priestley, the English Unitarian; 1804. M. L. to C. W., Nov., 1829.

[22] M. L. to C. W., 27th March, 1827.

Devon. "Septr. 1st. Left Sidmouth, visited Exeter Cathedral, took a noddy to Honiton, coach to Bath, and thence to Oxford. The first view of Oxford from the London road remarkably fine—read at Bodleian, saw rooms of Charles James Fox, and the whole of the Colleges." It was the year Newman "came out of his shell," as Vicar of St. Mary's. In 1827 the *Christian Year* had made its appearance. "Saw Stratford-on-Avon from the coach; the church and spire, trees, churchyard, and passing river not unlike Govan." "Sep. 7. At Chester gratified to hear Bishop Blomfield,[23] before leaving for the See of London, preach his farewell sermon from the words:—*My sheep hear my voice, and I know them.* He was very much affected, and shed tears. A good-looking, middle-sized man, he referred perhaps a little too directly to his own labours and actions. Showed himself to be a mild Arminian, but he declared the doctrine of the Atonement very plainly."

Several literary ventures which Leishman had on the stocks at this period, for various reasons remained unlaunched. In particular, a Dictionary of the Bible, and an annotated edition of Hume's *History*, meant to clear the presbyterians of aspersions cast upon them by the "good David." In regard to the former work Leishman writes:—"Mr Murray is to be the publisher. It is to consist of two octavo volumes. I have undertaken to write one half and Lawrence Lockhart the other. His brother John has been our negociator in the business. No time is fixed for the completion of our labours.

[23] Bp. of London, 1829-1856.

I am sorry to say I am getting on much more slowly than I anticipated. *Not* that I devote little time to the work, but chronological, geographical, and critical difficulties seem to multiply as I advance. Many of these I see other dictionary makers leave as they find them, or solve in a very unsatisfactory manner. My curiosity, or conscience, will not allow me to finish an article before I have got all the information connected with it within my reach; until I have an answer to an objection with which my own mind is in some measure satisfied. In spite of difficulties, you are right in predicting I should find my work pleasant. Lawrence is much more ardent in the matter than I am. I hope his fire will continue." Leishman's doubt as to Lockhart's ardour proved well founded: other writers[24] occupied their ground: Leishman's pastoral labours swallowed up his time: critical difficulties acted as a drag; hence the projected volumes never saw the light in print. With Lockhart their abortive literary effort was a favourite subject of jest. In the library at Inchinnan was a door painted with mock books, the titles of which Lockhart periodically renewed at the expense of his literary acquaintances. One morning on entering, Leishman faced a handsome quarto labelled *Leishman's Phaleg*; the career of Noah's descendant (to whom one line is allotted in most Dictionaries of the Bible), marking the point at which their venture had collapsed.

The constant allusions in Leishman's correspondence to "the Sacrament," indicate the central

[24] Macaulay's *History* (1850), which left Hume upon the shelf, and Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1863).

place occupied in Scottish religion by the Holy Communion. Leishman was no Zwinglian, but a perfervid believer in the Westminster doctrine of the real spiritual Presence, and under his ministry Govan enjoyed all the warmth and glow of Sacramental worship, although possibly he might have hesitated to endorse Irving's saying:—"I would rather, if I had no other choice, hold with the Church that believes in transubstantiation, than with another that believes the Lord's Supper to be but a commemorative sign."

On the principle of "new king, new coinage," one of Leishman's earliest acts after his Ordination was to strike a "Sacramental Token."[25] The use of church Tokens, those venerable badges of Christian disciplehood—in most parishes now displaced by the prosaic printed card—was then universal.[26] This act of giving Tokens as passports to the Holy Table, Leishman never delegated to minor officials. In preparing candidates for Holy Communion no pains were spared. It was, indeed, a tradition of the old Evangelical party, to put their whole strength into that work.[27] At Govan the course of instruction covered several months, written answers were expected, and all Eucharistic teaching was based upon the Church Catechisms, Larger and Shorter. "My usual practice," writes Leishman, "is to meet with

[25] Edward Irving in similar fashion, six years later, struck a Token for the Scottish National Church, Regent Square. 11 May, 1827.

[26] In some parts of Calabria the giving of metal Tokens by the Priest before Mass, in proof that the worshipper has been to confession, still prevails.

[27] *e.g.* Willison of Dundee, *Sacramental Directions* and *Meditations.*

all my young communicants after the Saturday service, and put Tokens into their hands myself, with an address and prayer. I should think it a very bad sign of fitness for the ordinance were any not present." [28]

It were a mistake to suppose that our forefathers were invariably content with annual Communion, that practice which Calvin denounces as a Satanic invention.—"Are there not," asks Willison, "many serious Christians who communicate *almost every Sabbath* during the summer season, when they can have the occasion in neighbouring parishes?" [29] The dates of celebration in a district were purposely arranged to admit of this. No doubt these "Holy Fairs" had their secular side, and features over which a scapegrace might easily make merry, but to the vast majority of devout worshippers, it is safe to say, they were veritable "seasons of refreshing." The following description of a celebration of Holy Communion at Govan, in 1831, is based on the testimony of two [30] competent eye-witnesses, one a liturgical scholar well versed in the various *uses* current in East and West, and the other a literary craftsman of no mean eminence in Canada.

[28] Letter to Dr. Willis, 2nd June, 1838. Such carefulness in preparation was not universal. An aged parishioner in Morayshire told the present writer that when going forward to First Communion, the minister merely asked him one question: "What are the decrees of God?" On receiving the orthodox answer in the Catechism, the novice was informed that would do. As he left the manse door, he was recalled, but only to be told to look in at the village carpenter's "in the by-passing," that functionary, possibly as Kirk-Session Clerk, acting as custodier of the Church Tokens.

[29] *Sacramental Directory*, p. xvi., published 1715. In Leishman's day still a popular book of devotion.

[30] Thomas Leishman, D.D., and James Croil, Esq., Montreal.

"Distinctly, as though it had been yesterday, I remember a Sunday seventy-five years ago, when I sat almost a whole day in a front seat of the gallery of the old Govan Church, gazing with all the ardour of boyhood upon a scene, the like of which for spectacular effect and solemnity I have seldom ever since witnessed. It was the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after the manner prevailing in Scotland from the time of the Reformation, but now rarely to be seen. The Rev. Matthew Leishman was at this time Minister of Govan, a model Parish Minister, than whom none was ever held in higher esteem by his people. In Govan there were then two Communion seasons, deemed rather in advance of the times, for in most country parishes there was but one. The services connected with it occupied the greater part of a week, commencing on Thursday, the statutory *Fast Day*." ("Wee Sunday" we used to call it.) What has been since changed into a holiday was then observed as a holy day. The garden gate was as securely locked on that day as on the Sabbath. To be seen reading a newspaper, or walking abroad, save going to church, was deemed unseemly, if not sinful. There was a full "diet of worship" also on Saturday —the day of preparation—when the Tokens were distributed, and again on Monday, the Thanksgiving Day.

"On the great day of the feast, people came in crowds from all parts of the parish, some even from Glasgow and adjoining parishes; the church was filled at an early hour, while many stood outside, or sat on the grave stones, awaiting their

turn to be admitted." After the *Action sermon* came the *Fencing of the Tables*—the former being an invitation, the latter a deterrent, meant for those who were consciously "unworthy." This done, while the Sacramental Paraphrase was being sung, the ministers and elders retired to the vestry, from which they returned before the singing was done, the Minister heading the procession, and the elders, a long train of grey-headed ancients for the most part, bearing the sacred vessels and elements, an impressive spectacle suggestive of the *Great Entrance*, the most imposing ceremony in the Ritual of the Eastern Church. Another Sacramental act to which Dr. Leishman attached peculiar importance was the *Lifting*, or elevation of the Holy Elements, before Consecration. On the eve of his son's first celebration of the Sacrament, he wrote counselling him on no account to forego that ancient usage.[31] "The pews in the main body of the building were converted into veritable tables, around which the communicants sat face to face, a position to which great importance was attached.[32] There were three such tables, ranged transversely in front of the pulpit,—each table had room for thirty-two persons, and as there were between five and six hundred communicants, it followed that the people took their places in relays, this implying the delivery of five or six 'Table addresses,' by as many different ministers, each of whom gave an elaborate pre-communion and post-communion address. While the Sacred Elements were being passed

[31] See Sprott's *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, 115.

[32] See Appendix C.

round, Holy Scripture was recited, always concluding with the words:—'*Go in peace*,' whereupon the communicants arose and slowly left the table singing, as they went:—

'O thou my soul, bless God the Lord,
and all that in me is
Be stirrèd up His Holy Name
to magnify and bless.'[33]

Led by the Precentor, who read out each line before singing it; that to me seemed the most picturesque and solemnising feature of the whole service." Psalms only were sung: the sole exception being the recently authorised Eucharistic Hymn:—

"'Twas on that night, when doomed to know
The eager rage of every foe.
That night on which He was betray'd,
The Saviour of the world took bread."[34]

"When all the tables had been served, the presiding minister gave a parting address from the pulpit, and the solemn service, which had lasted, without intermission, five or six hours, was closed, and the congregation dismissed with the Benediction—to meet again for worship at six o'clock in the evening."

If these Sacramental occasions opened with a "Fast," they, as invariably, closed with a feast. The "Monday dinner" at the Manse was quite a social function, invitations to meet the officiating clergy being coveted. The conversation ranged

[33] Ps. ciii. to the tune *Coleshill*. The custom of singing during the time of administering the blessed Sacrament formerly prevailed in the Church of England. See *Songs of the Church*, 271. George Wither, 1673.

[34] A Paraphrase of the record of the Institution (St. Matt. xxvi. 26-29). This Sacramental lyric, so familiar to the Scottish ear, though shaped in a Caithness manse, has its basis in a Latin Hymn—*De Coena Domini*, penned in 1564 by the Polish physician Andreas Ellinger.

from grave to gay, while behind the scenes the juveniles kept holiday. Legend has it that at Govan on one occasion, a large pie when opened was found to be stuffed with hay, and labelled—*All flesh is as grass.* What penance was assigned to the irreverent perpetators of this jest history does not relate.

The "Monday dinner" at Govan Manse in the midsummer of 1823 became semi-historic, since out of it arose a celebrated slander case, which occupied the Court of Session and kept the best talent at the Scots Bar busy for several years. This case resulted in a grave miscarriage of justice. John Kingan,[35] the innocent party, cast in heavy damages, retired to Cheltenham, where he died: happily not before his reputation had been restored by the death-bed confession of the slanderess.

After 1843 these Sacramental gatherings declined. As illustrative of the partisan spirit then rife, Leishman used to quote some remarks overheard at a country Communion, near Govan, on the eve of the Disruption. As the Moderate Leader cantered up the green sward to the churchyard stile, mounted on a coal black steed, a seceding elder was heard to mutter—"Vain cratur! and on sic a day, thinking only of showing off his mare." But when one of the Evangelical clergy arrived a few minutes later, at a most unsabbatical gallop, the same voice was heard—"Eh! see hoo keen he is to be aboot his Master's business!"

[35] A portrait of Kingan, who was a Glasgow merchant, and a son of the Manse of Crawford, survives at Corbet Tower near Kelso, residence of his descendant, Robert Cowan-Douglas, Esq. See *Kingan versus Watson*, Feb., 1831.

Early in 1832 the cholera came to Glasgow, having first shown face in Britain at Sunderland during the previous autumn. In April the dread malady reached Govan, whose flat lands and nearness to the river laid it peculiarly open to contagion. All that summer the city hospitals were crowded. Vessels from foreign parts touching at any of the Clyde ports rode quarantine, while from many a masthead floated the ominous yellow flag. Many left the city and fled northward in terror; deserted and grass-grown lay the quays of Glasgow and Greenock, that "busy rival of old Tyre." Leishman's days were passed in visiting the sick, consoling the bereaved, and burying the dead. To guard the village wells from contamination a local committee was formed, soup kitchens were opened, and no stone was left unturned to aid the medical faculty in their efforts to cope with the fell disease. The Church proclaimed a Fast, and throughout the land men betook themselves to their knees and to the churches, to plead with God to stay the destroying angel. By October the plague was stayed.[36] On all hands Leishman won golden opinions for his devoted labours during this visitation, as did also his neighbour Lawrence Lockhart of Inchinnan. Although an "elegant scholar," Lockhart was "not reputed a great preacher," but "a fig for great preaching," writes a contemporary. "The most effectual preaching is the life. Mr. Lockhart is a complete examplification of

[36] A similar, if less destructive outbreak occurred in 1854. According to the Registrar General's Returns for England and Wales, the cholera exacted that year a toll of 20,097. At Govan the first victim, a Partick "indweller," was buried on the 4th of January, 1854.

Pope's *Man of Ross*,"[37] and the writer instances his "pastoral zeal in the cholera epidemic at Paisley."

On March 13th, 1833, Edward Irving was deposed at Annan. Brought to trial, nominally on a charge of doctrinal defection, he was virtually condemned for ritual excesses.[38] On the day following, Irving, in the presence of a vast multitude, poured out his swan song, on the sands near Dumfries. One who was present as a boy, informed the writer that he remembered the preacher's sonorous voice, the moving brilliancy of his discourse, and the discussion among his seniors on their homeward way. Many accounted "the diviner mad," or, as one crudely phrased it, *cracked*. "Cracked he may be," responded his neighbour, "but remember a crack often lets in light."

In 1835, Thomas Leishman died. While no great

[37] "Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes and gives.
Is there a variance? enter but his door,
Balk'd are the courts and contest is no more."

Moral Essays, 130, and *Reformer's Gazette*, 232.

[38] The inconsistency in the verdict, amounting almost to miscarriage of justice, puzzled Coleridge:—"I cannot understand the conduct of the Scotch Kirk with regard to poor Irving. They might with ample reason have visited him for the monstrous indecencies of those exhibitions of the spirit. Perhaps the Kirk would not have been justified in overlooking such disgraceful breaches of decorum; but to excommunicate him on account of his language about Christ's body was very foolish. Irving's expressions on this subject are ill-judged, inconvenient, in bad taste, and in terms false; nevertheless his apparent meaning, such as it is, is orthodox." *Table Talk*, 230.

It is noteworthy that six members of Assembly, representative of some of the best legal and theological talent in the Church, recorded their dissent—Principal M'Farlane of Glasgow; Dr. Jackson, Professor of Church History at St. Andrews; the Dean of Faculty; and Dr. Dickson, Convener of Committee of inquiry into Irving's treatise. Leishman was not a member of Assembly in 1832. Dr. Chalmers remained silent.

scholar he was a man of much native ability and shrewd sense. His kinship with Professor Arthur kept him more or less in touch with college circles, and his friend, Dr. Daniel Dewar, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, was a frequent visitor at Oakshaw.

In the autumn of 1836 Matthew Leishman with his wife and child made a raid into Liddesdale to attend the wedding of his brother-in-law, William Boog, to Margaret Elliot of Kirndean. From Jedburgh their route lay over the "knot o' the gate," crossing that "shuttle-cock of antiquarians,"[39] the "Catrail." It was the track taken in 1749 by Scott's gig, the first wheeled vehicle seen in Liddesdale.

This wedding, following an earlier alliance, formed in 1820 between Janet Somerville or Pringle of Rosebank and Major-Gen. Henry Elliot, led eventually to the presentation of Matthew Leishman's eldest son to the Elliot family living at Linton-in-Teviotdale, then in the gift of the bride's cousin.

At the accession of Queen Victoria, early in July, 1837, Leishman, along with Dr. Chalmers and Sir George Ballingall, Professor of Military Surgery at Edinburgh, set sail from Leith, one of a deputation of twelve sent by the General Assembly to present an address from the Church of Scotland. The deputation was headed by Dr. Matthew Gardiner of Bothwell, described by Leishman—his fast friend—as "rather a sleepy Moderator." "We met at the 'Thatched House' Tavern near St. James' and walked thence to the Palace, with the Mace at our head. We all admired, when admitted into

[39] *County History of Roxburgh*, 27. Sir George Douglas, Bart.

the Throne Room, our youthful Queen. Dr. Muir of St. Stephens was enchanted with her 'beautiful intonations' in reading her reply. After the address we approached to kiss the Queen's hand. Retiring from the Royal Presence, the Moderator's remark made in my ear was amusing and characteristic. 'Only think, Leishman, that growing lassie to be the Sovereign of these realms. Why! she is just like a modest manse bairn.' This in the broadest Scottish accent." Court gossip said that her Majesty, who at that time knew little of her northern kingdom outside the pages of her school history books, observed as the deputation withdrew:—"Well, I think I have snubbed those Knoxites!" The tale is probably apocryphal, but, if true, Queen Victoria lived to revise her opinion of the Scottish Church and its clergy. In her widowhood, as is well known, her "heart yearned to that part of her Dominions," and she had "more comfort from her Scottish Chaplain, Norman Macleod, than from any clergyman in the south." On one of her early visits to Scotland, Principal Dewar of Aberdeen, having preached before the Queen at Crathie, told Leishman that after dinner Prince Albert said to him that he much liked the way in which the Queen was prayed for by the Church of Scotland ministers. Her Majesty, and he himself, disliked her being styled, as in the English service, "Our most religious and gracious Queen."[40] She would rather be prayed for like the rest of the congregation.

[40] This Collect (usually ascribed to Laud) first appears in 1625, the opening year of Charles I.'s reign. May it not echo the *Liturgy of St. Mark*—where the Emperor is prayed for as "our orthodox and Christ loving King," cf. Wheatly, 182, and Cardwell, 233.

Many of the Scots clergy, notably Dr. Chalmers,[41] still adhered to the National Doric. Principal Hill of St. Andrews, and Dr. M'Cormick, Principal of St. Leonard's College, when made King's chaplains, rode to London together to pay their respects at Court. Fees to a considerable amount were due for their patents. After payment, a Cockney clerk at the Home Office said, in answer to Dr. M'Cormick's enquiry whether there were any more fees to pay—"No, Sir! Only a small gratuity to the four *h*under porters." On this Dr. M'Cormick made his exit in all haste, saying to Dr. Hill, "Come awa', George, we'll be ruined. The sooner we are baith hame the better. There are no fewer than four *hundred* porters in that building waiting to be paid by us."[42]

In the spring of 1838, Leishman was again in London, one of a deputation sent by the Church Extension Committee, a strong movement being then on foot to secure Parliamentary grants for church building in Scotland. Sailing from the Clyde in the "Unicorn" for Liverpool, Leishman by coach and train reached London. That night he lay at the old *Bell Inn*, Warwick Lane, whence, one June morning a century and a half earlier, Leighton, the peace-maker, breathed out his pure soul in sleep. Next day, Wednesday, 25th April, at 2 P.M., Leishman repaired to the Hanover Square Rooms

[41] Grant, Editor of the *Morning Post*, himself a native of Elgin, describes Chalmers' accent as "the broadest I have ever heard." *Memoirs of Sir George Sinclair*, 175.

[42] This anecdote was told Leishman, 3rd May, 1848, by Dr. Alexander Hill, who added he had often heard his father tell the story.

to hear Chalmers lecture on *Church and State*, and denounce "the day of little men and little measures." "It was a scene of the utmost enthusiasm," writes Leishman. "We sat on the front bench in reserved places. My immediate neighbours were the Duke of Cambridge, Sir James Graham, the Earl of Montague, the Marquess of Cholmondeley, and the Bishop of Winchester. At the close Chalmers drew attention to the presence of the Church of Scotland deputation, and expounded the object of our journey, which was, as he phrased it, to 'fleece the Southron.'" Among those present was Mr. Gladstone, whose comment on these Lectures is well known.[43] "Such a jumble of Church, Unchurch, and Anti-Church principles as that excellent and eloquent man Dr. Chalmers has given us in his recent lectures, no human being ever heard. . . . He flogged the Apostolical succession grievously, seven Bishops sitting below . . . and the Duke of Cambridge incessantly bobbing assent. But, unfortunately, I do not believe he has ever looked in the face the real doctrine of the Visible Church, and the Apostolical succession, or has any idea what is the matter at issue." If Chalmers had not, others among the Scottish deputies fortunately had. "Dr. Chalmers looked in upon us," says Leishman, "in the evening." A plan of campaign was arranged, and it was decided that the "deputation should call on various members of the Government." Next morning found Leishman and his companion Abercromby

[43] Letter to Manning, 14 May, 1838.

Gordon,[44] Minister of the Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen, hard at work. Their list included "the Speaker, the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earl of Ripon, Sir Francis Egerton, Lord Abercromby, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Lord Reay, the Earl of St. Germains, and William Ewart Gladstone," then member for Newark, and "the rising hope of the Tory party." Of him as a Scotsman, and a son of John Gladstone, the Liverpool merchant, then busy endowing St. Thomas' Church, Leith, the deputies expected much. Leishman describes their reception at Carlton Terrace. "26th April. Called with Mr. A. Gordon on Mr. Gledstane, Jun., M.P. Had a long conversation with him on the subject of Puseyism. He very politely declined to subscribe on conscientious grounds, said he was a member of the Church of England, and Convocation, and consequently that he could not support another Church. Although apparently not recognising the Church of Scotland as a Church of Christ, he endeavoured to reconcile his refusal, and his support of Endowments in Parliament, by saying, that when he looked at the Act of Union, he would hold it to be a breach of faith, as a member of Parliament, not to uphold the Church of Scotland." Gladstone, whose first book on Church and State, designed as a counterblast to Chalmers' Lectures, was then in the making, asked Leishman:—"What are your views as to the Apostolic Succession?"

[44] "The memory of this good man," writes Dr. Cooper, of Glasgow, "was still green in Aberdeen when I came to settle there in 1881. Not a few of the best church workers in the city traced to him their first serious impressions of religion."

Leishman, who, like most members of the old Evangelical party, believed in Succession through Presbyters, said:—"With my views of Apostolical Succession I would not have held my office as a minister in the Church of Scotland, did I not believe that my ordination was as regular as that of any minister in the Church of England. When Gladstone repudiated, not very politely, our Apostolic Succession, I retorted, perhaps rather shortly:—'I think I can prove my ecclesiastical pedigree as satisfactorily as any minister of the Church of England.' But added, that 'while I was as much attached to the Church of Scotland as he could be to the Church of England, I was very happy to avail myself of the services of other Christian denominations in fields of Missionary labour, not accessible through my own Church, by giving them such pecuniary aid as I was able, instancing, among others, the Moravians.' His reply was, 'So should I, had I your views.' We heard afterwards that he was a Puseyite, though when Mr. Gordon, in the course of our discussion, referred to Pusey's published sentiments, Mr. Gladstone said he did not consider himself called upon 'to answer for Mr. Pusey.'" It need hardly be said that the opinions avowed by Leishman and his friend on the doctrine of Succession were not singular, but with the older Evangelicals a theological commonplace. This is plain from the *Christian Instructor*, chief organ of the Evangelical Party, which was found in almost every serious household at that day. In its columns there appeared in the following spring, over the signature "John Knox," a series

of able articles on *Apostolical Succession*, avowedly written in answer to the "Oxford Tracts." From whose pen these articles came is uncertain.[45] They certainly embodied Leishman's principles. A few sentences may suffice to indicate their drift:—"We do not perceive how any man can defend Presbyterianism, except upon the ground of Apostolical Succession and Transmission of Orders. . . . Yet so little is this understood, that in reasoning against the exclusive assumptions of the Oxford Divines, who contend that only they, and the Romish Priesthood, can boast of a Succession from the Apostles, some have reasoned against the Transmission of Orders, descent from, and succession to the Apostles in principle, and *in toto*. Now, let such persons come to a fair hand to hand encounter with Oxfordism, and they shall, they must, be defeated. . . . It is perfectly true that Rutherford, and others of those by whom our formularies were compiled, entertained the private opinion that, in certain specified circumstances of most extreme necessity, lay orders were valid. Yet, the Church of Scotland is not responsible for, nor bound by, the private opinions even of those by whom her formularies were constructed. We adhere to their private opinions only in so far as these have been embodied in our public symbols, but we have already seen lay orders is *not* one of such opinions.

[45] See *Christian Instructor*, April-May-June, 1839. The day books of its Glasgow publishers, Messrs. Blackie & Co., are for those months unfortunately missing. No complete list of editors exists before 1848. Mr. W. B. Blackie is of opinion that the author was Thomas Thomson, F.S.A., the best legal antiquary of his day, and himself a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.

We . . . are rather sensitive on this subject, and we have been rendered so by the most injudicious procedure of some of our Presbyterian auxiliaries, who have contended against the assaults of the Oxford Papists by deserting the impregnable strongholds and throwing away the impenetrable panoply of Presbyterianism and have betaken themselves to the open positions, and broken weapons, of Congregationalism, as if, because some maintain that no one can confer orders but a Diocesan Prelate, we could not otherwise refute them than by setting up a counter claim for lay, or self-assumed, orders. Our true position is in the proper mean. Let no defender of Presbytery adopt the principles or play into the hands of either Independents or Prelatists. We regret exceedingly that some of our friends seem to understand the controversy so little, and to be so unaware of the *genius and principles of Presbytery*, as to betray the cause they seem so zealous in advocating. The Oxford faction seek every occasion to bring forward the power, rights, and privileges of the ministry, as resting upon an Apostolical Succession, and *they are right, for this is our only stronghold.* Renounce it, and you open a wide door to the wildest abuse of Laymanism. . . . If we could suppose them victorious, their victory would be as disastrous to Presbytery as to Episcopacy, and beneficial only to Congregationalism."

On 12th May, Leishman attended Dr. Chalmers' last lecture. "Sunday, 13 May. Went to Church—

heard Dr. Benson[46] on the Parable of the Sower. His manner calm and unimpassioned."

"Wednesday, 16th May. Called on Sir George Sinclair with Abercromby Gordon. Got his permission to insert his name in a list of the London Committee. Called on Lord Aberdeen, had a long conversation and found him very acute and friendly. He said he could not approve of measures to collect money for Scotch Churches in England, therefore could not be on our Committee. We concurred." To the Southron mind Lord Aberdeen was rather an enigma. Among his fellow peers he was known as the "Presbyterian Puseyite." The sincerity of his affection for the Church of Scotland was beyond question. Addressing the Peers, in April, 1838, while Chalmers and Leishman were in London:—"I profess myself," said he, "a member of the Church of Scotland, I have held office in her Courts; but while I proudly make this acknowledgment I do so with the greatest respect for the Church of England. It has not been from any examination of the doctrines of the Church of England, or from any doubts as to those doctrines, that I remain a member of the Church of Scotland, but believing the Church of Scotland to be a true Church, and that she is admirably adapted to secure peace, order, and a high state of morality among the people, I have seen no cause to abandon the Church of my fathers and of my country."

The results of this Church Extension raid into

[46] Christopher Benson (1789-1868), Master of the Temple. He it was who first fastened on the Puseyites the nickname of *Tractarian*, in the course of his once famous series of sermons against the Oxford Movement.

England Leishman records in a letter to his wife:— "Wednesday, 16th May, at 10 p.m. With Chalmers I have just stepped aboard the *Monarch*, the best steamboat on the station. Since we began our attack on the purses of the citizens we have got considerably more than £5000, besides Mr. Gladstone's £5000, or £6000, for a Church in Leith, his native town, and have appointed a committee of noblemen and gentlemen to take up the cause in our absence. Since I began to write we have received a note from the Duke of Northumberland's Secretary, enclosing a draft for £100, so our labour has not been wholly thrown away."

"Thursday, 17th May. Off the coast of Norfolk. I employed part of the day in writing to Chalmers' dictation part of his Report on Church Extension for the General Assembly." Chalmers, as is well known, wrote a very crabbed hand, so crabbed (he told Leishman) that even his old father at Crail, "used to bundle up" his hieroglyphs, "until he came home himself to read them to him." "Landed at Newhaven in time to hear the debate on the Independence of the Church. May 23. Wednesday. Home by canal boat."

On 3rd May, 1839, the peers gave their memorable verdict in the Auchterarder case, reaffirming the judgment of the Court of Session, which declared the Veto Act an infringment on Civil rights. Wisdom counselled the repeal of an Act discredited as unconstitutional and allowed by Chalmers to be a "blunder" on the part of the Church. Dr. Candlish, however, declared the Veto "a *bagatelle*," and for a fresh war-cry, threw out the suggestion (it is said

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at an Edinburgh supper party):—"If you want to sweep Scotland, try the Crown Rights of the Redeemer." It was about this time that Leishman first scented schism in the air, and began to distrust the dominant party, especially the Edinburgh *camerilla*. The power of popular Veto without reasons was, in his eyes, un-Presbyterian, opening "a wide door to blind prejudice and vague impressions." But alas! the apple of discord was already cast into the Church Courts.

Out of sympathy with his former allies, like many of the higher spirits of that age, Leishman, if he did not withdraw from the Church Courts, at least left off speaking. Indisposed to follow "crimination with recrimination," he sought peace in retirement, pastoral work, and the study of church history, "the best cordial for a drooping spirit." These silent months were not unfruitful. In December, 1840, Leishman was created Doctor in Divinity by the University of Glasgow. Volume followed volume in quick succession. His *New Statistical Account of Govan*, appeared in 1840, a storehouse of accurate and exhaustive information. His *Works of Hugh Binning*,[47] a Cromwellian predecessor, known among his own party as the "Scottish Cicero," followed, with learned notes and a laborious preface, and finally his edition of Wodrow's *Analecta* or Commonplace Book. The task of deciphering and editing this savoury *olla podrida* of occurrents civil and ecclesiastical, served up in racy old Scots, and covering the first three decades of the

[47] Incumbent of Govan, 1650-1653.

eighteenth century, was undertaken at the request of the "Maitland Club." The original MS. was a gift to the Club from its first president, Lord Glasgow. This work at once took its place as a Scottish classic. Hill Burton,[48] chides the editor for glossing over the weaknesses of the "enthusiastic historian," but Leishman, anticipating Tennyson's[49] feeling that the "oddities and angularities" of good men should never be "hawked about," prefers to let honest Wodrow speak for himself. The Wodrows, or Windrams, had dwelt at Eaglesham for more than four centuries. There the historian's great-grandfather, "Mr. Patrick Woodruif,"[50] was the last Roman Vicar, and, after 1574, Knoxian reader. He wedded a daughter of Lord Abercorn. A branch of the family migrated overseas to America. One of their descendants, during the late war, won world-wide celebrity as President of the United States.[51]

It was while "unkennelling" Wodrow "from the dust of years" that Leishman stumbled on James Durham's (1680) treatise on *Scandal.* Of Durham, the young Angus laird, soldier, courtier, scholar, and Minister of Glasgow Cathedral, Wodrow draws

[48] His charge of "abstaining both from introduction and explanatory footnote"—betrays somewhat slipshod reading on the part of the Historiographer Royal, ample notes being furnished in the last of Leishman's four portly quartos. *Book Hunter*, 341.

[49] *Life*, 153.

[50] The sanctuary in which he ministered, a "very diminutive" building, served as a Parish Church till 1790. "Its stones are embedded in the present Church."

[51] "My grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Woodrow, was of the same family with the ecclesiastical historian, Robert Wodrow." Letter to the author from President Woodrow Wilson, Dec. 23rd, 1914.

an attractive picture—"Slow in speech, yet none like him in Israel in his day for piety, prudence, learning, and knowledge of history." "All for the Peace of the Church," Durham's line of action in 1652, and Leishman's in 1842, present a somewhat curious historical parallel. Durham—who bearded Cromwell to his face, and preached "against the sectaries"—lived in the days of the first Schism which rent the Scottish Church since the Reformation. It is no small testimony to his influence that in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, when Resolutioner and Protester met apart, different in *ethos* as Cavalier and Roundhead, or as Ganganelli and the Jesuits in the Roman Curia, both parties chose Durham as their Moderator, but he declined to preside unless the factions united. Although cut off by consumption at the untimely age of thirty-six, his monumental work on the Sin and Scandal of Schism remains: *A Dying Man's Testament to the Church of Scotland.* It was apparently the study of this "great Divine" that helped to fortify Leishman in his conviction that —"except in fundamental matters, touching the essentials of Christianity, separation is unwarrantable." This conviction never faded, and it saved him from being entangled again in the glittering meshes of the net spread by the ultra Non-intrusionists. Speaking upon the Marnoch Case in the Presbytery of Glasgow, in the midwinter of 1841, he says:—"Notwithstanding all our efforts, and contrary to our hopes, and most earnest prayers, it may be the Will of Divine Providence that

our Church should fall. Some of us may live to say,

> 'Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
> Gloria Teucrorum.'[52]

But whatever may be the issue of this eventful contest in which we are engaged, let us endeavour to act in such a way, amid our present difficulties and embarrassments, as may entitle us to expect a full vindication of our conduct from the impartial testimony of posterity. Let us act in such a way that should our Church be laid in the dust, there may afterwards rise out of the ashes another, a more perfect Church, a Church which will be clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners."

The Scottish Church question had now reached an *impasse*. Church and State, like the fabled goats, stood face to face on a narrow ledge. Neither would give place. Æsop's solution of the problem being in this case inadmissible, one or other seemed destined to fall into the stream, unless each could be persuaded to recede within its own province. In Leishman's view, both parties were at fault. What he claimed for the Church was "Co-ordinate Jurisdiction with the Civil power," and "separate Jurisdiction in all matters purely and palpably spiritual."

Probably no professedly religious movement, since the Reformation itself, was ever so swayed by underlying secular and political motives. To catalogue the causes, social, political, commercial, literary and religious, which led up to the Secession

[52] *Æneid* II., 325, 6.

of 1843 is beyond our province. From the long French war, Scotland had emerged transformed. The character and conditions of life had materially altered, the tide of reform was coming in like a flood. The influence of the French Revolution, with its attendant horrors, was felt in all countries. A new moneyed middle class had sprung up which could afford to pay for the luxury of dissent. It was an age of new experiments. The electric telegraph, the penny post, the railroad, and foreign travel, tended to widen the national outlook. A strong infidel and anti-church wave was passing over Europe. The passage of the First Reform Bill of 1832 set men's wits to work, and the Church was tempted to copy her secular partner. The red vintage of war was ripe, and the advocates of Christianity meditated the risky experiment of putting the new wine into the old bottles. These were indeed "*busy times for religion.*" March, 1841, witnessed the publication of *Tract No. 90*, a turning-point in the Oxford Movement. Every ancient institution was upon its trial, and the Church of Scotland was no exception.

To explain the ecclesiastical situation it is necessary at this point to attempt a *résumé* of "the tedious and tangled negotiations"[53] which led up to the formation of the Middle Party. As regards the nominal bone of contention, the mode of admission to Benefices, most men felt with Wellington, that "if these were the times in which moderate councils would be attended to, it should

[53] See Sinclair's *Correspondence.*

not be difficult to settle this question, every care being taken to preserve the Church's exclusive spiritual power." But years of "unhallowed and unseemly dissension" had fouled the social atmosphere of Scotland. The political sky was black with clouds. Both parties had chosen their ground and were in no mood for retreat, "each expecting that the whole concession should come from the other side." Meanwhile the vast majority of the nation cherished "a strong desire for a peaceful settlement." The first who strove to drag the Church's chariot out of the mire was Lord Aberdeen, whose 1840 Bill gave parishioners the right of objection, with reasons annexed. Its terms failed however to find favour with the Church. A year later the young Duke of Argyll tabled his measure practically legalising the Veto. This was Leishman's ideal settlement. It was endorsed by the Church, but unfortunately the dissolution of Parliament and the return of Peel to power, wrecked any chance it ever had of reaching the statute book. A like fate overtook the facsimile measure introduced into the Commons, in April, 1842, by Mr. Campbell of Monzie. The last and most hopeful attempt was that made by Sir George Sinclair of Ulbster, a common friend of the Church and of the Government.

Alike from personal character, education, and social position, no Scotsman of his day seemed better equipped for the difficult part of peacemaker. Born in the Edinburgh Canongate at the house of his grandmother, Lady Janet Gordon, a Scotswoman of the old school, he had been brought up a Scot

of the Scots, and cherished a veneration almost idolatrous for the National Church, and for lay patronage as a highly esteemed "link binding together the Church and the Aristocracy." Later in life, at the feet of Andrew Thomson of St. George's, he imbibed anti-patronage views. At Harrow his chief friend was Lord Byron, who styles him — "the prodigy of our school-days." Byron's bellicose spirit had scant sympathy with Sinclair's "pacific temperament," however he fought his battles for him, while Sinclair in return "wrote Byron's Latin verses." Returning from the University of Göttingen in October, 1813, Sinclair fell into the hands of the French, and was carried before Napoleon for examination on the eve of his downfall at Leipzig. Entering Parliament in the Whig interest as Member for Caithness, he deserted the family politics after the passage of the Reform Bill, and passed over to the Conservative camp. Literature and religion, however, were his main interests. Hence when he succeeded on his father's death to the baronetcy and an embarrassed estate of 100,000 acres, hating field sports and lacking skill for estate management, he gave up everything to his son. For himself he reserved only £2,000 a year and Thurso Castle, his beautiful old home near the edge of the Pentland Firth, so near that one could "angle from the drawing-room windows." At Court Sinclair was a *persona grata*, and boasted the friendship of William the Fourth, until they quarrelled over an invitation to dinner on Sunday, which Sinclair declined on principle. He was a friend of Carlyle, and for a time the confidant of

Disraeli; and few Britons could claim a wider or more influential circle of acquaintance than he. Sir George, however, had the defects of his qualities. In politics rather a weathercock, he was a curious bundle of contradictions; vain, volatile, sanguine, verbose in correspondence as in speech, and of a crotchety temperament; orthodox enough to write a long letter seriously lecturing Archbishop Manners Sutton upon his theological attitude towards Unitarians, while his own views, at least with regard to church government, were "very latitudinarian." "Like many brilliant men, who see both sides of great questions," to quote the verdict of his nephew and godson,[54] he had "difficulty in making up his mind to decisive action. Such men are often swayed by small reasons, hence his not obtaining a more effective place in the House of Commons." Himself a patron, yet President of the Anti-patronage Society, he was on terms of intimate friendship with Melbourne, Brougham, Sir James Graham, and his old schoolfellow Sir Robert Peel, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bench of bishops, as well as with the Law Officers of the Crown. A life-long Evangelical, hand in glove with Chalmers and Candlish, yet heartily concurring with Lord Aberdeen in his detestation of the Veto, he had the ear of both parties in the Scottish Church. In short, no living Scotsman seemed more plainly marked out by Providence to assume the rôle of Peacemaker.

It was at Edinburgh, under the dome of St.

[54] The late Venerable Archdeacon Sinclair of St. Paul's, to whom I am mainly indebted for this charater sketch.

George's Church, at a prayer meeting conducted by Candlish, one August evening in 1840, that "the danger of impending schism and its baneful consequences" first came home to Sinclair. "That night, I resolved," says he, "to direct the whole energies of my mind to the momentous and heart-stirring object of striving to avert such an awful calamity from my country."

Sinclair's appearance in the arena, labelled as a zealous *non-extrusionist*, was hailed with acclamation. To secure a truce by the appointment of a Royal Commission was his first plan. By this device he hoped at once to put a stop to clerical agitation, "then doing a world of mischief," and to stem the tide of southern ignorance, English politicians as a rule being innocent not merely of the literature but even of the very grammar of the subject in debate. The majority had neither time nor taste for such a study. Even Mr. Gladstone, a cormorant for books, confesses himself surfeited with the pamphlet literature of the Scottish Church question. The average politician, Sinclair believed, would welcome a "dispassionate *résumé*"[55] of facts, if collected and presented to him "in the golden pill of a Royal Commission." This proposal, however, did not at all suit the programme of the clerical agitator. Candlish, for example, who wrote to Sir George Sinclair: "We cannot be quiet, else we are lost."

Failing a Royal Commission, Sinclair next favoured a "Court of Arbitration composed of leading clergy from both sides, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and Dr. Candlish, along with those three

[55] *Correspondence*, pp. 38, 40.

pillars of the moderate interest," Dr. George Cook of St. Andrews, Dr. Mearns of Aberdeen, and Dr. Norman Macleod (senior), of St. Columba's, Glasgow, with the two party lawers, Dunlop and Whigham, and Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, "*who belongs to neither party in the Church.*" For such a mode of settlement, however, party feeling ran too high, and when Lord Melbourne began in his industrious manner to pour cold water upon it, the proposal speedily expired.

To Brougham, as a Scotsman and a grandson of the Manse, Sinclair, on 29th October, 1841, unbosoms himself:—"Only four plans have ever been proposed. First, the abolition of Patronage," then beyond the range of practical politics. "Second, the legalising of the Veto, a scheme nearly equally hopeless. Third, the legalising and defining of the 'Call,'[56] difficult, and never to my knowledge practically arranged in the form of a Bill." Only one door of escape seemed left upon the latch, a revised version of Lord Aberdeen's Bill.

Against this measure, on its first introduction in May, 1840, Leishman and his party had voted *en masse*, on the ground that it did not leave enough power in the hands of the Presbytery. Hence Sinclair's solution was the insertion of a fresh Clause, "*enabling*, without *compelling*, the Church Courts to set aside a presentee, if they thought fit: to try each case judicially, thus leaving all power to the Church Courts." This scheme, known as the *liberum*

[56] The interpretation of this document—an invitation from the flock to the presentee to accept a pastoral charge—furnished a favourite bone of contention on the eve of the Secession.

arbitrium, a cumbrous phrase coined by Chalmers, was now, however, decried as clerical despotism. The truth is, nothing would satisfy the extremists, "rejection without stated reasons," being "magnified almost to the point of a religious principle." This was opposed by Sinclair as "opening a wide door to malice and faction." "Some of my friends," says he, "seem to think that the presentee should be set aside if a majority of the communicants sign a round robin of rejection, without any assignment of reasons, and that their *sic veto sic jubeo* should prevail without further enquiry. This principle is, in my opinion, unreasonable and unjust: to the patron, the presentee, the Presbytery, and the minority, bad for the Dissenters themselves and the public at large; in short—an infringment of the liberties of the Church."

The working of Church Patronage in Scotland at the present day, by a "legal fiction[57] abolished in 1874," but in reality only "transferred to the hands of a new corporate patron, created *ad hoc*," and described by Statute as "the Congregation"—goes far to prove the wisdom and justice of Sinclair's contention.

The chief obstacle to the revival of Lord Aberdeen's Bill was Lord Aberdeen himself, who told Sinclair candidly that he had no ambition to see his "abandoned Bill descend from its sepulchral shelf." For the sake of peace alone, he yielded a reluctant consent, and, with the aid of the Lord Justice Clerk,

[57] *A Free Church in a Free State*, by Rev. H. J. Wotherspoon, D.D., *The Treasury*, March, 1914.

Sinclair drafted what an opponent[58] described as his "memorable and miserable clause."

In his negotiations with the Government at this period, Sinclair found a trusty lieutenant, and in his frequent absences from the stage on account of illness a most capable substitute, in Robert Bruce of Kennet, father of the present Lord Balfour of Burleigh. This ancient and picturesque race rose into prominence amid the throes of the Reformation. Among their most cherished heirlooms are the Kennet *ciborium*, and a silver bell gifted by Mary Queen of Scots to her "faithful adherent, Sir James Balfour of Burleigh," the deputy keeper of Edinburgh Castle, under Bothwell. Later on, Bruce's ancestors won laurels in fields legal[59] and military, ever figuring as strong supporters of the Reformed Faith.

As an ensign in the 3rd Grenadier Guards, Robert Bruce was wounded at Waterloo, near the close of the day, while carrying the colours of his regiment to victory. Upon leaving the army Bruce entered Parliament as member for his native county of Clackmannan. In the summer of 1841, he was invited to contest Edinburgh as a Church candidate against Macaulay. This offer he found it prudent to decline. A Scotsman to the backbone, and a Presbyterian by tradition and conviction, Robert Bruce endorsed Sinclair's "palliative remedy" of placing ultimate power in the hands of the Church Courts.

Through his friend Bruce of Kennet, in October, 1841, Sir George Sinclair received from Sir James

[58] Buchanan.

[59] A portrait of Lord Kennet, the 18th century Judge, still hangs in the Edinburgh Parliament House.

Graham the "gratifying intimation" that "in the event of his being able to procure from the Non-Intrusion Committee a direct and positive assurance that they would acquiesce in the proposed terms, the Government were disposed to agree to a settlement" on the basis of "*Sinclair's Clause.*"[60] The Non-Intrusion Committee met, and after some demur gave a rather surly consent, admitting at the same time, that, if passed into law, the proposal would be a "great boon." A Minute of conditional acceptance was dispatched to the Home Secretary, while a copy and a separate memorandum were handed to Sir George Sinclair. With these documents in his valise, Sir George, like a homing dove, hastened to St. Stephen's; all peace-loving Scotsmen breathed more freely, and harbour at last seemed in sight; but the very day on which Government sanction was to be given, all was marred by a catchpenny, and apparently unauthorised, speech made by the Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae, upon the hustings at Rothesay, in the Bute election.[61]

The Cabinet, he maintained, had up their sleeve a measure of settlement more liberal in its terms than even Argyll's Bill, which formed Leishman's ideal settlement. The Movement Party became restive, and searching for a loophole of escape from their pledge found it in the time-limit, their acceptance of *Sinclair's Clause* having been qualified by the condition that legislation should be

[60] *Correspondence* 11.

[61] One of the election cries, on this occasion, blasphemous and incredible though it sounds, was:—"Three cheers for the Headship of Christ." Muir's *Journal.*

immediate. The sands of the Session were running low, only four days remained. With a little patience this time-limit difficulty might easily have been overcome.

Archbishop Howley[62] expressed the feelings of most people when he said:—"this question is not one of time but of certain terms. Why reject a conciliatory scheme on account of a delay which does not affect its intrinsic merits?" When one reads the original documents without bias, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the dominant party, if not manœuvring for a position, were at least "trying to force the hand of the Government with an eye to secure better terms." So general was this conviction at the time, that Dr. Candlish found it necessary to publish a pamphlet of forty pages, endeavouring to explain their *volte face*, but his argument is laboured and more ingenious than convincing. For the breakdown in the peace negotiations at this stage, the Government were clearly not responsible. "Nothing can be more tantalising and annoying," writes Sir James Graham to Lord Aberdeen, "than this total failure on the eve of complete success." With "unruffled patience," and in the face of unmerited obloquy, Sir George Sinclair had spent fifteen months "higgling with the rival factions." On the 3rd of January, he writes:—"The doom of my plan has been sealed. The Committee has thrown away the only means and last opportunity of extracting the Church from her perilous position." So far as Sinclair was concerned, here the matter took end, but out

[62] Letter to Sir George Sinclair, 15 Nov., 1841.

THE REVEREND WILLIAM MUIR, D.D.

1787–1869

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of the ashes of his failure, three months later there sprang, phœnix-like, a third party known as "*the Forty.*" The sole aim of this party was to save the Church from schism, to discover or engineer some *via media* by which both parties might yet return to *walk in the house of God as friends.* The dread of Disruption was now become general. Men felt that the Church stood on "the edge of a volcano worse than Etna."[63] A feeling was also abroad that Sir George Sinclair's "pacific scheme" in particular had received rather scurvy treatment. Suspicion was rife that the bark of the Church was in the hands of unskilled navigators. This feeling found voice even within the walls of the Non-Intrusion Committee itself, which Bruce of Kennet terms a "packed conclave."

The times being now ripe for the emergence of a Middle Party, the only question was who should lead the forlorn hope.

One name stood out pre-eminent, that of the venerable Dr. William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh. Son of a Lord Provost of Glasgow, he, like Chalmers, began life as a Moderate, but, cast by providence into the furnace of domestic affliction, came out a Moderate–Evangelical. Universally respected, and attached to neither party in the Church, his influence was unique. "Splendidly handsome,[64] highly cultured," and a popular preacher, Dr. Muir was before all else a shepherd of souls. His flock at St. Stephen's, one of the new city churches, comprised the *élite* of the Scottish Metropolis. A great educationalist, he had retained,

[63] Muir's *Journal.*

[64] Gordon's *Life of Charteris*, 40.

or successfully revived, the old Church practice of public catechism.[65] "My opinion has always been," he says, "that the battle of the Lord in this land, is to be mainly fought out on the ground of Education. Satan is too crafty to raise his agents to battle with the Church. That will not succeed. But let him only get into his hands, through the agency of Liberalism, the Schools and Colleges, and he accomplishes everything he desires. He will insidiously undermine the foundations, and he knows the fabric will very soon totter and fall."

South of the Tweed Dr. Muir was well-known, and had many friends among the clergy of the sister Establishment. When in London with the Scots deputation at the Queen's Accession, he writes:—"The good Primate[66] was all kindness; the Bishop of Exeter[67] is a pleasing personality. 'Except this,' says he, shaking his apron, 'there is little difference between us.' Dined at Lord Aberdeen's. Next night with the Bishop of London" (Dr. Blomfield). No one was more frequently consulted and by men of all ranks. He was intimate with the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, and with Lord Aberdeen, but his great ally was the Earl of Dalhousie, the future Governor General of India. There were few Crown livings in Scotland in the disposal of which Dr. Muir had no voice. For himself he never sought preferment. From a constitutional aversion to public debate, he lived in

[65] In the St. Stephen's Church Day Schools in 1836, Dr. Muir had under instruction 660 children.

[66] Abp. Howley.

[67] Henry Phillpotts 1831-1869. Muir's Journal, 26th March, 1838.

a kind of ecclesiastical backwater and did not, perhaps, always accurately gauge the force of the current in midstream. When, on the death of Dr. M'Gill, the Glasgow chair of Divinity fell vacant in the summer of 1840, Dr. Muir, who was an excellent Theologian, declined the post. "Peace to be allowed to be a Parish Minister busied in his Parochial charge and minding nought besides," was his ambition. So too, when offered the Moderatorship, he wrote:—"I shrink from the whole thing. Ah! how much more grateful are the great labours of the Pastoral care, than these public, bustling, noisy, and painful exertions." It was only from a strong sense of duty, and sorely against the grain, that in 1838 he occupied the Moderator's Chair—under pressure from all parties, and on the plea—"You will unite us." From that time Dr. Muir's voice was often heard in the councils of the Church. His unpublished *Journal*,[68] is of value as a contemporary document, and reveals a singularly pure and lofty character, the "*beau ideal* of a Christian Minister." Dr. Muir shone as a counsellor. For several years Chalmers worshipped at St. Stephen's and constantly sought his advice. Dr. Muir's estimate of Chalmers' character, though highly critical is not unfriendly. "26th May, 1839,[69] Chalmers came to the vestry to-day after sermon. He is ill at ease, anxious to ascertain whether I would work with him. . . . I gave him the assurance, but I again stated strongly my principles. I see he would

[68] October 1835 to July 1864.

[69] Two days before he had made his speech on the Peers' adverse decision regarding the legality of the Veto.

eagerly coincide with them, but he is trammelled by the Church Radicals into whose hands he has thrown himself. . . . He is desirous of gaining approval from all. I fear the Agents of the Government are working and the poor Church will remain a mere card in the hands of political gamblers. As for good Chalmers, it is clear he is not fitted to guide, he has really no fixed sentiments, is open to mere impulses, and will change according to pressure." While not blind to the flaws in a singularly complex character, Dr. Muir cherished a warm regard for Chalmers, whom he clearly accounted, as did Gladstone, "one of nature's nobles." He describes him as a "single-hearted being." "In the Presbytery, on the whole, I side with Chalmers. My conviction is that Chalmers is right in the main."[70] But the Diarist mistrusts his flowing oratory. "Eloquent and able as all his speeches are, they are often loose, inconsistent, and declamatory." Dr. Muir mourns over him as a tool in the hands of less noble natures, "brought down and pushed out" by party hands as a figure-head. There were times when Chalmers probably saw and resented the use that was made of him. Dr. Muir, who was a great peacemaker, kept in his desk a pamphlet written by Dr. Chalmers to "crush" Candlish, which Muir "persuaded Chalmers not to publish,"[71] As to Dr. Muir's friendship with Chalmers, three years before the Secession, one detects "a rift within the lute." "20th May, 1840. Last night I went to the *levée* [at Holyrood]. . . . Chalmers was

[70] *Journal*, 16 April, 1837. [71] Gordon's *Life of Charteris*, 40.

there. He came up to me and spoke. He was flurried and hastened from one topic to another, never touching on the one which was, I knew, next his heart. He looks uneasy and worn-out, and almost ghastly. It grieves me to think that our intercourse is now closing for ever."

With Chalmers' friends, "the dominant party," Dr. Muir had little patience. On the eve of the Secession he records:—"It matters little though they call their party Evangelical. . . . Party is Party still, and has transfused through it the poison and mischief of Party spirit. I early resolved to have nothing to do with Party." Dr. Muir "weeps in secret over the whole affair, and indeed my mind is so utterly replenished with disgust that really I could wend my way into the English Communion were the door thither opened without requiring Ordination over again. Oh let us 'Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem,' but with me that prayer is now the cry of despair. If the dominant Party prevail, the Kirk of Scotland will become utterly loathsome to the better ranks of society and all who long for the good of the country. One is really sickened by the heat and party violence, and can augur from them nothing but mischief. . . . The Church is in the hands of very young, or very inexperienced and rash men. We must look above human help. May the vessel be guided by the hand of the only Pilot."

Such was the position of affairs on Wednesday, the 18th August, 1841, when we find Dr. Macleod of St. Columba's alighting from the Glasgow coach,

and going down to 7 Danube Street to consult Dr. Muir on the Ecclesiastical situation. They "dined together with Lord Aberdeen at Granton," and for five hours on end this trio discussed "the weary Church question," to "ascertain whether anything could be done." "Done?" exclaims Dr. Muir. "I say nothing, except what Charles I. said, in his extremities about the Church:—*Preces et lachrymæ arma Ecclesiæ sunt.* . . . There was nothing left on my mind by that long conference but the prospect of increased darkness . . . increased confusion, till the whole fabric be rent asunder." One of Dr. Muir's "croaking predictions," destined to be verified all too soon. "*This* is evident," he adds later, "if Presbyterianism be destroyed in Scotland, it is *not* Episcopacy that is to succeed. The people will not have it, and thus we shall be left to Voluntaryism, or to some Government Endowment of all sects." When Dr. Muir "stood aloof," many eyes, in search of a leader, turned to Matthew Leishman of Govan.

CHAPTER IV

The Middle Party
1842—1843

"The pathway was here also exceeding narrow, and therefore good Christian was the more put to it; for when he sought in the dark to shun the ditch on the one hand, he was ready to tip over into the mire on the other . . . thus he went on, and I heard him here sigh bitterly."

BUNYAN.

ON the evening of Wednesday, 9th March, 1842, seven months after the Granton Conference, five clergymen, all having taken part in the celebration of the Glasgow Spring Sacrament, met under the roof of Govan Manse.

The inner circle of the third party, if a small, was a highly representative group. Next to their host, the acknowledged leader, the "very head and front of the movement,"[1] the most outstanding figure was LAWRENCE LOCKHART of Inchinnan, the brother of Scott's biographer. Their father, Dr. John Lockhart, incumbent of the Blackfriars Church, Glasgow, traced direct descent from Sir Stephen Lockhart, armour-bearer to James III., King of Scots. Another of the family had fought at Bothwell Brig, losing lands and life for the Covenant, while an uncle, General Lockhart, who fell in the Egyptian campaign of 1817, is still honourably remembered as the first Colonel in the

[1] *The Wheat and the Chaff gathered into bundles*, 53.

British Army who gave orders that every soldier should carry a Bible in his knapsack. Both father and son belonged to the old Evangelical or "High" party in the Church. Bright-natured and eminently companionable, Lawrence had the handsome Spanish face, without "the Hidalgo airs," which amused Scott in his brother John. In Lawrence's disposition there was more of the dove than of the "Scorpion." A model parish priest, deeply devout, yet gifted with a rich vein of humour, he was much beloved and universally respected. He was one of the first to perceive and advocate the necessity of ritual reform in the worship of the Church of Scotland in order to retain the rising generation within her pale. In the inner counsels of the Middle Party, Lockhart was a tower of strength, while his half-brother, Captain William Lockhart, Member of Parliament for Lanarkshire, proved a useful means of access to Government.

ALEXANDER LOCKHART SIMPSON, incumbent of Kirknewton, the only one of the guests at Govan who came from a distance, was a native of Ballingry in Fife, where Moderatism was seen at its best in Dr. Hardy, afterwards Professor of Church History at Edinburgh.[2] Simpson was bred an Old Burgher, but early in life cast in his lot with the Church. His eyes were enlightened by foreign travel, when chaplain to the Earl of Leven and Melville. In face and figure his resemblance to Lord Palmerston was so marked that in London he was mistaken for him on several occasions. His letters to his niece

[2] *Cf. The Principles of Moderation addressed to the Clergy of the Popular Interest in the Church of Scotland.*

reveal a "courtly, dignified, and able" ecclesiastic, in touch with many of the leading minds of his day, Lord Aberdeen, Melbourne, Russell, and Gladstone, the last of whom expresses himself as "always most gratified at being made the repository of any portion of your confidence." Dr. Chalmers praises his "well-timed and able appearances in debate," especially in defence of Catholic Emancipation. Simpson shone in society and was much in request at the table of his patron, the Earl of Morton. Perhaps his chief clerical friend was his near neighbour, Lewis Balfour of Colinton. After half a century of crowded usefulness, Simpson died in harness. His clear head, his legal acumen, his residence near Edinburgh, and his wide acquaintance with public men, above all his position as Clerk in the General Assembly, made him an invaluable asset to the Party. A full length portrait of Simpson hangs at the Edinburgh Castle Hill: better as a likeness, say his descendants, is the engraving by Ghemar.

In contrast to this astute, if somewhat mundane character, stands out the more lovable figure of ROBERT STORY of Rosneath, a born idealist, a typical country clergyman, the friend of Irving and Macleod Campbell. "Story and I," says Leishman, "were warm friends. He was my groomsman. He churched me and my wife after our marriage. Before Mr. Campbell's deposition he one day said to me:—'Leishman, you and I have not been preaching as we ought. We should have preached this simple doctrine:—"God is love."' I replied, while it was right to proclaim that doctrine, we ought also to remember how Paul reasoned before Felix 'of

righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.' 'Ah! but you must remember,' said Story, 'the effect of that was only to make Felix tremble.' 'Come now,' I replied, 'if you find fault with the Apostle for his way of preaching, I have no more to say.'" But Story's career needs no retelling.[3]

In the background appears another figure, ROBERT ORANGE BROMFIELD, incumbent of Auldfield.[4] A native of Northumberland, Bromfield was the friend and schoolfellow of Robert Lee, and, among his contemporaries at St. Andrews was accounted by many the abler man of the two. After 1843, when he was presented by the Duke of Roxburghe to the Tweedside living of Sprouston, he may be said to have "hid his talent in the earth," vanishing into obscurity save as an authority on gardening and pomology. None, however, could be more exact in the performance of clerical duty. He had a kindly habit of standing on Sunday morning at his church door after Divine Service to salute each worshipper. One can recall his handsome figure and fine face, roseate as one of his own apples. In August, 1880, he was found, like Livingstone, dead upon his knees. Bromfield was proud of his connection with the Middle Party, and preserved as a species of family heirloom the original pencil draft of the *Declaration* of the "Forty," jotted down by him as Clerk in their "cave at Govan."

After lengthy discussion it was decided to prepare and issue a *Declaration* for signature by all "men of

[3] See *Robert Story of Rosneath*, by the late Principal Story of Glasgow.

[4] Now Pollokshaws.

temperate and peaceful views," indicating their readiness to accept from Government a healing measure for "the purpose of restoring peace and enabling the Church to resume her proper walk of practical usefulness." It was further resolved, that the standard of revolt against the dominant faction should be unfurled in the free air of the Church Courts, and at the ensuing meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Leishman's views upon the Church question were now clarified. Writing to Principal MacFarlane of Glasgow, he says:—"I am authorised to say we are persuaded that this question, which has continued so long to distract the Church and the Country will not be satisfactorily, or permanently, settled if power be not vested *somewhere* to reject a Presentee on the score of unacceptableness, irrespective of any direct charge affecting his life, character, or doctrine." *Where* that power should be vested Leishman was equally clear, namely, "in the Church Courts." How this claim struck one prominent in the van of the Moderate Interest, appears from Principal MacFarlane's letter expressing his "calm and deliberate conviction that no measure leaving to the Church Courts the power of giving effect to an opposition unsupported by distinct reasons can, or ought to be conceded. Such a power, uncontrolled by responsibility or even public opinion, appears to me greater than ought to be entrusted to, or desired by, fallible men." In Leishman's main contention as to the "urgency of the occasion, and the duty of seeking peace by all means," the Principal heartily concurred. "Never for a moment" were Leishman and his friends

"doubtful as to the part they should act in reference to the Divine Headship of Christ, which not till far on in the controversy had ever been mooted at all." "Dissent without reasons assigned," the popular battle-cry of the hour, "if a Scriptural truth at all," was in their view "at the very utmost only a non-essential about which Christians should 'agree to differ,' rather than rend asunder the mystical body of Christ." Any steps short of Disruption; protests, continuance of the struggle *within* the body, such was the plea of Leishman and the Middle Party. Whatever might "happen in the inscrutable Providence of God, of this one thing they were confident, that however loud or long the cry may be heard, *Rase her, Rase her*, they will never join in it: they will do all they can to purify, but never to destroy."[5]

On Wednesday, 13th April, 1842, Leishman tabled the *Declaration*, in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, prefacing it by a telling speech.

"It is known," said he, "to my brethren that I have abstained for some years from taking any active part in the business of the Synod. I would willingly have followed the same course on this occasion, could I have done so without disregarding the urgent wishes of my friends, and what I conceive to be the imperative call of duty, in the present critical state of the affairs of the Church. My friends on both sides of the house, may rest assured that it is far from my intention to say anything that may excite unkindly feeling or have a tendency to increase, or perpetuate,

[5] *A word for that section in the Church who took up what may be called a Medium Position.*

those divisions which have of late years prevailed to so great an extent throughout the country, and unhappily separated former friends, impeded our usefulness in our respective parishes, and done so much injury to religion itself. Neither is it my wish to fasten the blame of these divisions on any particular section of the Church. I would rather wish the Synod to consider whether we may not have been all more or less to blame for bringing the Church into her present perilous position, and whether it be not our duty now, by mutual concession, but without any compromise of principle on either side, to endeavour to effect an amicable settlement of our existing differences.

"It was in the beginning of May, 1840, that the Earl of Aberdeen brought into Parliament his well known Bill entitled:—'An Act to remove doubts respecting the admission of Ministers into Benefices in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland.' That bill was considered to be satisfactory by a large proportion of ministers and elders throughout the Church; and they made this known by a public declaration to the Government and the country. I confess I was not satisfied with it. The Bill did not appear to me to give sufficient power to the Church Courts to prevent the settlement of unacceptable presentees.

"This may not have been the intention of the noble Lord under whose auspices the Bill was introduced into the House of Lords. I am disposed to think it was not. There can be no doubt, however, that such an interpretation was very generally put upon the Bill, and that it was believed by many that

such would be the interpretation put upon it in a court of law. The consequence was that when the General Assembly met, they declared they could not acquiesce in the Bill unless it underwent some material modification. Soon after this, Lord Aberdeen intimated his determination to withdraw his Bill, finding it was not likely to promote the object he had in view—the pacification of the Church and the country. Since then our difficulties and dangers have been daily increasing. One party in the Church is charged with being in a state of rebellion against the State. Another party is charged with being in a state of rebellion against the Church. Some are accused of violating their oath of allegiance; others are charged with breaking their Ordination vows. The authority of the General Assembly is openly set at defiance by more than one Presbytery under the protection of the Court of Session. Other Presbyteries, for acting in compliance with the laws and appointments of the General Assembly, are dragged into the civil courts, and threatened with oppressive amercements, and even with the loss of their personal liberty. This is a fearful state of things. Meantime, the enemies of our National Establishment, and the enemies of religion, are witnessing, with unhallowed delight, the animosities which are tearing us asunder. They are assailing us with their sneers and ridicule. Talk of the *odium theologicum*, they exclaim, *tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?* They are fanning in every possible way the flames of dissension among us. Every new blow and heavy discouragement which the Church receives from the Court of Session, is followed by a

shout of exultation on their part; and they do not conceal their confident persuasion that the sun of the Church of Scotland is about to go down for ever. Nor is it they only who anticipate the overthrow of our Ecclesiastical Establishment. Some of the most venerable men in the Church itself, the ornaments of our Church and Nation, are known to be looking forward to this as an event which is more than likely to happen at no very distant date, and are making, with a heavy heart I doubt not, preparations to meet it. Is there no way of averting this National calamity? Is there nothing which we can do to prevent the enlargement of the schism which has already commenced? Is there no plan that can be devised or agreed upon, which, under God, may be the means of reconciling conflicting parties, and of extricating us from our present difficulties and perils? If the Government be willing to give us any measure which we may deem admissible, and under which we could remain together as ministers of the Church of Scotland, and be left to perform, without interruption or distraction, the unobtrusive duties of our sacred vocation, surely it is our duty to accept of it. The measure may not be such as some of us would originate, but if we have no choice of measures, no prospect of having any such choice—are we not bound to consider the only one which may be offered to us, calmly and dispassionately, and to say, if it be not utterly obnoxious to our principles, this much at least, that we would submit to it if passed into a law? Are we not bound to do this, more especially if we have reason to believe that, if things are allowed to remain as they are much longer, any

measure may come too late? No power on earth may be able to heal our divisions. Our Church may be destined to fall, as much, it may be, owing to our own obstinacy, as to any other cause. . . . Scotland is convulsed from one end of it to the other by this question. Not only congregations but families are divided against themselves in regard to it. We can no longer speak to our people with the same confidence that we did formerly, or awaken in their bosoms the same feelings of sympathy. The benevolent schemes of the Church likewise are paralyzed. Instead therefore of its being less necessary, it is becoming more necessary that an end, if possible, should be put to our unhappy conflicts with one another, and to our conflicts with the courts of law. For myself, I have no hesitation in saying I would prefer the Duke of Argyll's Bill. That Bill, I am persuaded, would work more pleasantly than any other. But still, rather than that the Church should remain a single day longer in her present position, assailed as we are, both from within and from without, I would most thankfully receive Sir George Sinclair's measure—indeed, any measure which would not offend my principles, and at the same time would warrant any hope of being instrumental in saving the Church from destruction. I have in my hands at this moment the written adhesion of more than forty ministers, at present attending this meeting of Synod, and all professing Non-Intrusion principles, to the following *Declaration:*—

"WHEREAS, the difficulties and dangers with which the Church of Scotland is now surrounded,

and which are every day increasing in number and magnitude, are of a most serious and alarming character, not only obstructing her operations and paralyzing her exertions in every department of practical usefulness, and tending to sunder the bonds of Peace and Unity among her members, but threatening her safety, and even her existence, as a National Establishment; and whereas it appears from the published minutes of the Non-Intrusion Committee, a measure of settlement has been proposed, as we understand with the concurrence of the Government, by which the Church Courts, acting in their judicial capacity, are left at full liberty to reject a Presentee in every case in which they may think it proper to do so, either in respect that the objections or reasons stated by the Parishioners are judged by the Presbytery to be in themselves valid and conclusive; or in respect that the said reasons or objections, though not, in the judgment of the Presbytery, in themselves conclusive, are entertained by such a proportion of the Parishioners as, in the opinion of the Presbytery, to preclude the prospect of the Presentee's usefulness in that particular Parish, our understanding of the said proposed measure being the interpretation which has been put upon it by Sir George Sinclair in his published correspondence:

"We, whose names are undersigned[6] (without expressing positive approbation of this particular mode of settlement, and whilst other modes, were such in our option, might be preferred by us

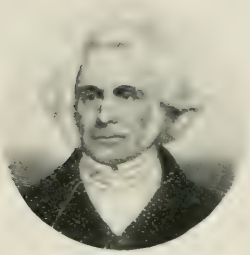
[6] For list of signatories see Appendix B.

severally) would feel ourselves conscientiously at liberty to submit to it if passed into law."

The *Declaration* of the "Forty" fell like a bombshell into the Evangelical camp. When Leishman sat down Dr. Buchanan, future historian of the *Ten Years' Conflict*, at once sprang to arms and charged him with sowing dissension in the ranks. If the *Declaration* came to little in the Synod, its moral effect throughout the Church and in the country at large, during the following year was great. "Among the intelligent laity" the movement was "exceedingly popular." No less than sixty Glasgow merchants met and pledged themselves to its support. "Almost the whole of the Scottish Members," apparently under its inspiration, waited on Sir Robert Peel and entreated him to legislate. Among the Peers the "Forty" found a warm champion and sympathiser in Lord Aberdeen. A good Scotsman, a "kind of eldest son of the Church," he was throughout a keen advocate of Government intervention.

"I do not agree with you," wrote Lord Aberdeen, to the Lord Justice-Clerk, on the eve of the catastrophe, "in the opinion you express of the inexpediency of attempting anything at present. I am inclined to think that we ought to make an effort to prevent the great secession which now seems inevitable." And this (he afterwards explains), "chiefly with a wish to save these poor fellows if possible. I fear they will not have courage to break off from their party in any great numbers, unless under such encouragement." His attitude through-

JOHN PAUL
The City Divine



ROBERT STORY
The Country Clergyman

ALEXANDER L. SIMPSON, D.D.
The Assembly Clerk

MATTHEW LEISHMAN, D.D.
"Head and Front of the Forty"

NORMAN MACLEOD
The Court Preacher

LEWIS BALFOUR
"The Herd of Men"

LAWRENCE LOCKHART
The Man of Family

LEADERS OF THE MIDDLE PARTY

out was consistently friendly,[7] although the trammels of party politics prevented his views taking shape in Bill form.

Sympathetic letters poured in from many quarters. Bruce of Kennet[8] writes:—"I beg to apologise to you for intruding on your leisure, but I feel so much gratified at the perusal of your speech in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, I can not refrain from tendering you my thanks for the stand you are making against the ultra views of some of our friends in the Church.

"The document you produce is valuable in itself and the respectable names attached to it must have weight. You appear to understand the proposal of Sir George Sinclair in the same light as I do, and as it is understood and intended by the Government. Such a settlement may not be the best, but it is within our reach, and practically assures the principle of Non-Intrusion.

"Such a proposal in October last, Sir James Graham authorised me to make to the Non-Intrusion Committee, and it was accepted by the Anti-patronage men, by return of post. The communication was made on the authority of the Government. It is, therefore, absurd to say there was no official authority for the proposal made to amend the Act of the Earl of Aberdeen so well described in your speech."

"Church affairs," writes Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, 14th November, 1842, "are getting more and more entangled, many are getting alarmed. Mr. Paul of

[7] Sir Arthur Gordon's *Earl of Aberdeen*, 151. *Cf. Greville's Memoirs*, II. 207.

[8] 18th April, 1842.

the West Kirk is bestirring himself, and it is reported he is to hold a meeting to-morrow to try and counterwork Candlish. He is late in beginning. Dr. Leishman called on me to-day. He, and his friends are also moving. The elders are hesitating, however, to subscribe, that excellent *Declaration*. I don't mean *my* Elders, but others—one set thinking it not called for, and that the better way is to let the wild people run their whole length, another set thinking it too mildly expressed, and some, not liking to take a step condemnatory of their Ministers. I saw Lord Dalhousie on Saturday, on his way to London. He is anxious about our Church affairs and sees little light in them. Let us humbly and meekly commit everything unto God who knoweth what is best."

On 7th December, 1842, we find Muir pressing the argument for action:—If only the Cabinet would "come out with an authoritative declaration of principle and assert their purpose of legislation whenever the Parliament meets. . . . The Government statement would be calmly considered by every minister in his own manse and so have its effect. Whereas, if delayed till May, no answer from Government will be cooly considered, and the Secession will be great. This is my view." As time went on, however, his intense dislike of violent and direct action, and of the prevalent policy of "hubbub and threatening," had their influence, and he writes on 23rd February, 1843:—"My mind is now made up decidedly to the necessity of nothing being done in legislating so long as the tone of defiance and violent threatening are carried out." It was an

unhappy and disastrous decision. Matthew Leishman and the "Forty" were better physicians. They had felt the pulse of their mother Church more accurately, and perceiving the dangerous condition of the patient urged the Government to legislate at once before the damage was done. After events proved the wisdom of their advice. Meantime, Dr. Muir buried himself in parochial duties. How detached his attitude was may be gleaned from his Journal:—"What a consolation," he writes early in 1843, "is the privilege of Prayer! . . . The pulpit and the Sanctuary form to me a refuge from these stormy Church debates, the sound of which is booming on all sides. My people never will be able to associate St. Stephen's with the miserable controversy. The more of experience I have in the cure of Souls the more thoroughly am I convinced that the simpler our view of the Saviour is, the greater will be our consolations and peace."

Meanwhile, many of the laity, disgusted with the Church, ceased frequenting her worship; not a few of the educated classes, following the example of Lord Dalhousie, sought refuge in Scottish Episcopacy; some of the most devoted of the clergy refrained from attending the Church Courts. One, Dr. Marshall of the Tolbooth, had already, as we have seen, in 1841, resigned his living and gone over to the Church of England. Dr. Muir would fain have done likewise had it been possible without re-ordination.

A copy of the *Declaration* of the Middle Party sent by Leishman to the Home Secretary, was received with "sincere gratification"; on 2nd May, Sir James Graham writes:—"The clear exposition of

the sense in which you regard the judicial capacity of the Church Courts, when deciding on the objections of the Parishioners, not arbitrarily, but with reference to their moral responsibility as Judges, affords, in the opinion of my Colleagues, a reasonable prospect of a legislative settlement. You may rely on our endeavours to improve the opportunity which your communications, in conjunction with the *Declaration*, seem to afford." In his covering letter, written while the "Synod was still sitting," Leishman had assured the Home Secretary:—"It is the belief of all of us that were the question settled upon the basis of Sir George's measure, according to his own explanation of it, it is questionable if a single Minister would find himself driven to withdraw from the Church on the score of conscience."

On the other hand the extreme Non-Intrusionists maintained that, but for what Captain Lockhart calls —the "Western split," the Government would have been compelled to grant the Church the Duke of Argyll's Bill. On 4th May the *Declaration* of the "Forty" was laid before the Cabinet at Sir Robert Peel's residence. Sir James Graham made a statement in the House, while Campbell of Monzie withdrew his Bill for six weeks. A settlement seemed at last within sight.

But other influences were also at work. "This movement," wrote Buchanan, "is doing a world of mischief in London." Hanna[9] calls it—"a most untoward event . . . fraught with incalculable evil." The truth is, Leishman's *Declaration*, though framed as an *Irenicon*, was not universally so received.

[9] *Chalmers' Memoirs*, II., 594, 595.

For the "Forty," standing on "a narrow isthmus between two tumultuous and hostile parties,"[10] and raked by a double fire, the position was far from enviable. Looked at askance by their Moderate neighbours as "untrustworthy or even worse," severely regarded by their former allies as intermeddlers, their plight, to borrow a parliamentary simile of the hour, resembled very much that of the "poor flying fish," in the air at the mercy of the bird, and in the water at the mercy of the fish.

By the Non-Intrusion Press the "Forty" were greeted with a torrent of invective. "We have been styled," writes Matthew Leishman, "'the Forty Apostates,' 'renegades,' 'deserters,' 'thieves,'[11] 'Erastians.' Our 'conspiracy' has been denounced, our 'defection' lamented. Certainly not very complimentary or decent language to be applied to a body of Ministers as orthodox in their sentiments, as learned, as conscientious, as honourable as any of their accusers. The advice which I have never ceased to tender to my friends has been to submit patiently to the injustice that was done them; and above all not to injure their cause, and disgrace themselves and religion by railing and recrimination. I confidently told them that (if we lived long enough) the time would come when we should be amply vindicated for the part we had acted during a perilous crisis in the history of the Church."[12]

[10] *Story of Rosneath*, 285.

[11] The nickname *Forty Thieves* originated with Hugh Miller, editor of *The Witness*. A hagiologist might have suggested with equal point that the Middle Party was founded on 9th March, eve of the Festival of the *Forty Martyrs*.

[12] Letter on the *Church Question*. *Glasgow Constitutional*, 11th April, 1843.

The position occupied by the *Via Media* men, in point of fact, and on their own showing, lay probably nearer historical Presbytery than that of their opponents, if "the very turning point of Presbytery, as distinguished from Independentism is, that while the Christian people," the *sacra Plebs*, "have privileges, yet these are all enjoyed under the control and superintendence of the office-bearers in the Church. But our seceding brethren would let the people loose from this control—a liberty which Christ does not allow in his Church, which those acting under Him have no right to grant, and the permitting of which, without His authority, becomes licentiousness." [13]

As regards the composition of the Middle Party, the original "Forty" were drawn mainly from the ranks of the rural clergy, that class in which, according to Macaulay,[14] "the professional spirit is strongest." All were comparatively young men. One only, Dr. Matthew Gardner of Bothwell, had occupied the Moderator's Chair. Many of them had travelled abroad or had otherwise seen something of the world. Seven were clergymen's sons; several had "Rowite or Irvingite sympathies;" but the inner circle all belonged to the old Evangelical party in the Church. No obligation rested on those joining the Middle Party to hold similar opinions.[15]

[13] *A word for that section in the Church who took up what may be called a Medium Position.* Edinburgh, 1843.

[14] *History* I. 163.

[15] *Defence of the position assumed by Dr. Leishman and others on the Church Question in 1843*, p. 8, by James Chrystal, D.D., of Auchinleck, last survivor of the "Forty." He died "Father of the Church," 6th Feb., 1901.

All sections of the Church were represented, the common bond of union being "a desire to do what they could to relieve the Church from her increasing difficulties" and stay the hand of the pilots who had brought the vessel among the breakers. Confined of necessity at the outset to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the "Declarationists" speedily enlisted a large body of supporters throughout the country. That the party contained some of the flower of their order may be inferred from the fact that no less than nine were called in after years to the Moderator's Chair. *Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem* was their watchword, and all endorsed the sentiment of one of their number, much quoted in derision at the time:—"I would rather lay down my head upon the block than leave the Church of Scotland." [16]

A detailed account of the rank and file of the Middle Party is here impossible, but a brief sketch of some of its more prominent members may be useful. The original Roll of the "Forty" as tabled by Leishman still exists. In point of fact it contains forty-five names. The first signature is that of Dr. ROBERT M'NAIR of Paisley Abbey, the son-in-law of Principal Hill, leader of the Moderate Party; the last, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, that of "NORMAN MACLEOD, Loudoun." He took a month to consider the matter and then signed with the "consent and approbation" of his father. His

[16] Said at a meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery by David Horne, incumbent of Corstorphine (1833-1863). As a sample of the coarse wit of the period, a butcher's block and cleaver were found next morning upon his Manse doorstep!

adherence to the movement was notified in a characteristic letter:—[17] "I will feel obliged by your adding, if possible, my name to the list of the 'Forty Thieves' who are willing to take Sir George's Bill. I hope it is now a Rebellion of the *Forty-Five*. Many thanks for your wise policy at this critical juncture of affairs."

At Edinburgh, Leishman found a trusty lieutenant in his college friend JOHN PAUL of St. Cuthbert's, whose house at 13 George Square became the head-quarters of the movement for the East of Scotland. "Few clergymen in the Church were held in greater reverence and esteem."[18] Well read as a theologian, reared in the innermost circles of the old Evangelical party, and inheritor of its best traditions, Paul, "long known to be out of sympathy" with the younger men, had early begun to "moderate his views," and sedulously opposed the policy of threatened Secession. "Full of the milk of human kindness," he clung to his former party as long as they would allow him to do so conscientiously, but he drew the line at separation, and spared no effort to stave off the impending catastrophe. Paul possessed a copious store of humorous anecdotes, many of which still sparkle, unlabelled gems, in the collection of his friend and neighbour Dean Ramsay. Noted for his singular devotion to clerical duty, or to use his own phrase, "sacerdotal piety," Paul set especial store upon the pastoral care of the baptized. Despite the size of the congregation of St. Cuthbert's he made it a point of religion to visit, at least once

[17] N. M'L. to M. L. 14th May, 1842.

[18] Letter from A. K. H. Boyd, D.D..

a year, if possible, all the young people whom he had christened, presumably, to *see if the vine flourished.* Among the children baptized by him one is to-day known to fame as Field Marshal Earl Haig of Bemersyde. In 1847 Dr. Paul filled the Moderator's Chair. Spared to a green old age, his ambition "to die in harness" was gratified in 1873.[19]

Another valuable ally, who lost no opportunity of winding the horn of the "Forty," was Dr. ARCHIBALD BENNIE, one of her Majesty's Chaplains, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and some time editor of the *Christian Instructor.*

Another champion of the "Forty," "a man of singular simplicity of nature, unemotional and hating the display of what he felt, standing contented on the old ways," was LEWIS BALFOUR of Colinton. Immortalised by his grandson and namesake, Robert Lewis Balfour Stevenson,[20] whose portrait of him drawn from memory, almost a decade after his death, delineates "the herd of men" with his "beautiful face and silver hair," in his study, "where he sat much alone," encircled with "Indian pictures" and "bloodless books" sent home by his soldier sons. "He took me in his arms and kissed me and gave me a little kindly sermon for my psalm. The Reverend Doctor he moves in my blood and whispers words to

[19] For the use of family papers and for much kindly help, I am indebted to his son, Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.

[20] So the novelist was baptized by his grandfather, at 8 Howard Place, Edinburgh. Later in life Stevenson sunk the Balfour, and adopted the French spelling, *Louis*, partly to please his father, partly to fortify the family legend of descent from a French barber-surgeon who came to St. Andrew's in the train of Cardinal Beaton.

me and sits efficient in the very knot and centre of my being."[21]

Not at Edinburgh and Glasgow only, but all over Scotland, from Tweedside to Inveraray, the Middle Party found adherents. Among the more notable was PETER HAY KEITH of Hamilton, "a busy and bustling minister," maternal grandfather of the present occupant of the See of York.[22] Another whose sympathies were all with the "Forty," and who "frequently expressed in particular great confidence in the judgment and good sense of Dr. Leishman," was JAMES CRAIK of Scone. "Learned, devout, and dignified," he became one of the pillars of the Church in Glasgow after 1843. His son has produced one of the best sketches yet penned of the Disruption period,[23] from the standpoint of the secular historian. JAMES MELVILLE M'CULLOCH of Kelso was another, famed in his day as an Educationalist and in pulpit eloquence scarcely second to Caird. Almost a type by himself was JOHN WYLIE of Carluke, the last hunting parson in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, as was Logan of Swinton in the Merse. As tutor to his future patron, Sir Simon Lockhart of Lee, Wylie had travelled extensively. In the year of Waterloo, while wintering at Rome, he had an audience of Pius VII., then but lately returned from his long exile in France, where he had taken part in the crowning of the great Corsican. The Duke of Buckingham urged Wylie to take

[21] *Memories and Portraits*, 114.

[22] Apparently also his paternal grandfather Gavin Lang, incumbent of Glasford, and fellow townsman of Leishman at Paisley.

[23] See *A Century of Scottish History*, by Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B., M.P.

Anglican orders, promising him good preferment in the South, but he declined, choosing rather to minister in the Church of his Baptism. Later in life he became concerned in the "Irvingite" and "Rowite" movements. Wylie had many friends among the Anglican clergy, whom he frequently visited.[24] Along with his family, it was his custom to receive Holy Communion, annually, on Good Friday, at the Episcopal Chapel in Lanark. In 1835, when many of his neighbours began to wax eloquent over the Church's Rights, Wylie busied himself with its duties, and overtured the General Assembly to ordain "a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, because of the prevailing carnality and deadness in the Church." For fifty-five years Wylie served his cure at Carluke, leaving behind him the record of a noble life, at once "socially beautiful, intellectually thoughtful, and spiritually clear and bright."[25] From college days Leishman and Wylie were fast friends.

Inside the Highland line, among others, were Dr. COLIN SMITH of Inveraray, equally distinguished as botanist and Gaelic scholar, and JAMES CURDIE, minister of the Islands of Gigha and Cara. The latter came of an old clerical stock, the Revolution finding his ancestor, James M'Kirdie, Episcopal

[24] To the distress of an aged parishioner at Carluke, "Remember, sir," she said, "there is only a paper parteetion between England and Rome."

[25] Speech at Dr. Wylie's Jubilee by the late Principal Story of Glasgow. The above account is based on letters and information furnished by his daughter Caroline, widow of Edward Caird, late Master of Balliol. John Wylie's sympathy with the Middle Movement was fully shared by his brother Francis, to whom, as Minister of Elgin, it fell to baptize Dr. James Cooper.

incumbent at Kilmorie in the Isle of Arran. An uncle, James MacCurdie, took English orders as James Curdie, having on his way south "dropped his 'Mac' in the Tweed." James Curdie the younger was celebrated as a classical coach, it fell to him when usher for three years at Potticany's School, Blackheath, to instruct two Jewish boys, one of whom was Benjamin Disraeli.[26] Any classical lore *Dizzy* possessed he probably owed to the future minister of Gigha.

Among the Cheviots the standard of the party was upheld by JOHN BAIRD, of Yetholm, founder of the *Plinian Society*, the chief flower in whose chaplet of renown was Charles Darwin.[27] After two winters at Edinburgh, Darwin went up to Cambridge, and in December, 1831, left England on his historic five years' voyage as naturalist in the *Beagle*, from which date his intention of becoming a clergyman "died a natural death." John Baird, meanwhile, had taken orders in the Church of Scotland. A man of judgment, too independent to make a good partisan, when called to enter the thorny thicket of ecclesiastical controversy in 1843, he chose the *via media.*

[26] See Monipenny's *Life of Disraeli*, I. 19. James Curdie's nephew and namechild, the Very Rev. James Curdie Russell, D.D., Moderator of General Assembly, 1902, tells me the change of name was resented by the family, one Celtic kinsman asserting:—"If he had kept the *curd* he had lost the *cream.*"

[27] In his *Autobiography* Darwin records his indebtedness to the *Plinian Society* and preserves a pleasing picture of its gatherings. "It consisted of students, and met in an underground room in Edinburgh University, for the sake of reading papers on natural science and discussing them. I used regularly to attend and the meetings had a good effect on me in stimulating my zeal and giving me new, congenial acquaintances." See *John Baird of Yetholm, Berwick. Nat. Club Trans.*, Vol. XXXIII.

In the quietude of his country manse at Port of Menteith, ALEXANDER TURNER became the historian of the Middle Party. Being now fast chained to his parochial oar, Matthew Leishman was unable to undertake the task, but he lent Turner his voluminous collection of pamphlets, plied him with firsthand information, and corrected and revised his proof sheets. Turner's *Scottish Secession of 1843*, written seventeen years after the event, when passions had begun to cool, is perhaps the least partisan account of the Disruption extant. The inner history of the movement may never be written, but his modest volume furnishes, within reasonable compass, at least the main facts of the case, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. Turner is probably a safer guide through the wilderness of 1843 than either Bryce or Buchanan.

No sketch of the *personnel* of the Middle Party would be complete without some reference to HEW SCOTT, who, although not actually within the movement, had considerable sympathy with it. His *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* forms an imperishable bulwark to what our Presbyterian forefathers accounted of prime importance, a regular Succession in the Holy Ministry. No doubt the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* of John Le Neve[28] suggested the title, but if Scott stole an arrow out of his neighbour's quiver, the mode of its use was all his own, and in many respects the work of the Edinburgh bookseller's apprentice excels that of the Eton and Cambridge scholar. Le Neve's work, valuable as it

[28] See APPENDIX D.

is, is little more than that of a dry genealogist, while Scott contrives to enliven his theme with flashes of living interest. When one considers how scattered were the records he consulted, and how slender the resources which necessitated his journeying from parish to parish on foot, one is lost in admiration of his industry and exactitude. While recording the clergy in the mammoth Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, Scott made Govan Manse his headquarters, and among Leishman's papers were found several of his *turned envelopes*. Unique as were his services to the Scottish Church, it is scarcely creditable that Scott's life labours have been so tardily turned to account by the parochial clergy. What an object lesson in Scottish history and religion is the succession of clergy at any one of our old parish churches! Among the first to perceive this was Lawrence Lockhart. Every worshipper who frequents the parish church of Inchinnan[29] knows the weather-beaten marble slab upon which Lockhart loved to trace his ecclesiastical succession from Sir Bernard Peeblis, (1585) the last Roman incumbent.

Another in partial sympathy with the "Forty" Movement was ROBERT LEE of Campsie. "Not being a scruple-monger," he writes,[30] "I should have no hesitation regarding submission to such a measure as Sir George Sinclair's, which indeed should be hailed by the Church as a great boon." Eventually, however, he declined to sign the original *Declaration*, mainly from "dread of an increase of power to the

[29] All Hallows, rebuilt in 1902 by the late Lord Blythswood; the church was originally dedicated to St. Conval.

[30] R. L. to M. L., 8th April, 1842.

Church Courts, especially the Presbytery," in his view, for "any operation requiring nicety, an extremely coarse and clumsy instrument."

We are not attempting a history of the Disruption. Our attention is directed chiefly to that corner of the battle in which Leishman figured, and we follow the fortunes of the Middle Party. In the General Assembly of 1842, Leishman made a spirited defence of the Movement.[31] "For issuing our *Declaration*," said he, "we have had a copious share of abuse heaped upon us. It was what we expected. We were prepared to bear this and a great deal more, in the hope that we might be able to do the Church some good service, or at least that it would be hereafter admitted that we had acted with the purest intentions, and with a regard to the most perfect consistency. The enemies of our civil and Ecclesiastical institutions, would no doubt have been better pleased if we had aided them in their attempts to overthrow our venerable establishment instead of meeting together to uphold it. We can submit to their contumely; but what indeed has grieved us is, that some of our personal friends and some of the ablest defenders of the Church, have called in question the propriety of the course we have pursued, representing us, at one time as credulous dupes, at another as full of arrogance and presumption" — in allusion apparently to strictures of Cunningham and Chalmers. Believing that Chalmers still had in his hands the Peace of the Church, and that "if he were satisfied it would go far

[31] Monday, 23rd May.

effectually to control the rival parties," Leishman ten days earlier had made a final effort to enlist on behalf of the "Forty" the sympathies of the "old man eloquent." They met at "the mouth of the Highlands," May 8, 1842:—"On reaching Edinburgh, I found Dr. Chalmers had gone on a visit to his son-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie,[32] I followed him by coach to Dunkeld, apprising him by forenoon mail of my intention. After lunching with him, that we might not be interrupted we retired to a heather house on the banks of the river." There for two hours, by the brawling Braan, they went over the ground of controversy. "He heard me read at length the whole of my letters to and from Sir James Graham. When I had finished, I said to him:—'Now Dr. Chalmers you know how I have been vilified for the part I have acted in this matter, say now whether or not I have sacrificed the principle of Non-Intrusion, and whether the measure I have asked from the Government to save the Church of Scotland, be a measure which we could accept with a good conscience?' His reply was this:—'I certainly could take that measure. It is the minimum, though. But, my good sir, the Government are deceiving you.' To this I answered:—'I have a very different opinion of the Government. And what good purpose would be served by the Government deceiving me? Whenever this was discovered they would be the sufferers as well as I. My firm conviction is that the Government are as anxious as we are to settle this question·

[32] John Mackenzie, incumbent of Dunkeld (1839-1843), son of Sir George Mackenzie, Baronet of Coul, married Eliza Chalmers.

If they only knew how to do it, in a way satisfactory to all parties.' 'I have great sympathy with you, my good friend,' Chalmers said, 'I was once as sanguine as you are. But they have deceived me, and they will also deceive you. Nothing will do, but we must depose fifty or sixty of these men and give the Government their choice, either to adopt our principles, or to see five hundred or six hundred ministers leave the Church.' I saw it was vain to argue with him. There was no convincing him that the Government were honest men."

Leishman had barely reached home when he received the following letter:—"Dunkeld, 10th May, 1842. . . . I need not repeat here the conviction that I expressed during your brief call of yesterday—as to the purity of your intentions and motives in the part that you have taken in the Church question; but I feel anxious to reiterate the expression of my earnest desire that no further subscriptions should be solicited for the Glasgow declaration—for be assured, that in the hands of practised and political men it may be turned to the excessive prejudice of that Church in whose well-being I am persuaded we are both alike sincerely and greatly interested.

"And further let me entreat that you will not cast any discouragement on the attempts of the General Assembly to right herself in the question of jurisdiction, and to maintain her authority over her own refractory members. I was much comforted by your telling me that you did not understand there was any attempt making to obtain additional subscriptions; and also by the firmness and strength of

your Anti-Erastian principles, and your just sense of the outrages inflicted on the Church by these intermeddlings of the Court of Session in things ecclesiastical."

His two hours conference with Chalmers made it clear to Leishman that the reins had now passed into other hands. A similar opinion was current in Government circles.

"It is the general impression here," writes Captain Lockhart from the House of Commons, "that two or three individuals stand in the way of an arrangement. What Government may do, I know not, but as long as that arch-mischief maker Candlish remains in the Church, I little expect any settlement of the question. At the same time I hope they will attempt it."

Then came the Assembly of 1842, with its violent Anti-Patronage harangues and the *Claim of Right*—after which events marched more quickly. An account of the Dunkeld interview was sent South by Leishman to Sir George Sinclair, who writes in reply. "24th May, 1842. On receipt of your kind letter, I walked up as usual to Lord Aberdeen's and read the contents to his Lordship. We talked over them at considerable length and I left the letter in his hands, as he wished to send it to Sir James Graham. . . . We were both of opinion that you give a more favourable view of the state of feeling in the Assembly, than either of us was disposed to entertain—and I do not think that its decisions (unless *very* outrageous) will influence the determination of the Government, or preclude them from introducing a satisfactory measure. . . . I own

that I cannot be surprised at the distrust which is entertained as to the opinions and tactics of the Edinburgh Committee. . . . Lord Aberdeen always evinces a fixed determination not to swerve from the conceptions which he has made, let the provocations be what they may on the part of malevolent or infatuated men. But if turbulence or menace should be the watchwords of the Church leaders, a feeling of indignation and disgust will be kindled amongst public men in this country, and the good intentions of the Government will prove unavailing to stem the torrent." This is very much what happened. Early that morning by an overwhelming majority, in a densely crowded House, the Assembly had endorsed the Church's *Claim of Right.*

"Never were the assertions of the supreme Authority of the Church within its own domain put forward with more unhesitating boldness."[33] As a convinced Anti-Erastian and life-long advocate of the spiritual rights of the Church, Leishman, who both by vote and voice opposed the Anti-Patronage proposals, voted for the *Claim of Right.* This "gave great umbrage in high quarters" and was one of the subsidiary causes which contributed towards the Government's refusal to legislate. The Home Secretary took it upon him to write to Leishman:— while "never doubting the purity of your motives your vote, concurring in the *Declaration of Right* and the Principles asserted in that document, are opposed to any settlement of the matters in dispute, which can be regarded by me as admissible." This

[33] Sir Henry Craik. *Century of Scottish History*, II. 210.

letter, dated 2nd November, 1842, practically closed the door on further negociations with the Government. Leishman who never lacked the courage of his convictions writes in reply:—"I certainly did vote for the *Declaration of Right.* Regard for my own character and the principles I have always avowed, forbid me to say more. At the same time it is necessary I should further state as to the 'obnoxious vote,' that my friends were not in any way responsible. It was given without any previous consultation with them. Some of them even told me at the time they regretted I had given it. I might therefore exclaim:—*Me! Me! adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum.* . . . By your letter I am disappointed and grieved beyond measure. If our suffering Church you now abandon at the crisis of her fate, nothing remains but to prepare for the coming storm and to look for help from God."

It may be well to note that Leishman and those of the "Forty" who voted with him[34] for the *Claim of Right* were guilty of no inconsistency in afterwards adhering to the Church. In that once famous document, drafted by Dunlop, a skilled party lawyer, there is not a word of "secession." It speaks only of risk, hazard, compulsion, implying force from without, not spontaneous action from within. Leishman also complains that the document was over-cooked in Committee. The original motion for which he voted ran—"approve only of the *Tenor* of the Declaration and Claim, and declare *in general terms* thereof, and remit to a committee to report to the

[34] Six of the original "Forty" had seats in the Assembly of 1842. All voted for the *Claim of Right.*

House any verbal emendations or alterations that may appear necessary." "Various emendations and alterations" were made, Leishman tells us, and in particular a "very great change was made on the language of the last paragraph but one—several over-strong expressions and various words being added, which had better have been omitted." Leishman however never resiled from his position of general approval.

In November, 1842, when the "Convocation" met in Edinburgh, Leishman and many of the "Forty" were "invited and even importuned to attend." It was "unanimously resolved" not to do so, and indeed to hold a "counter meeting of Declarationists, in the Waterloo Hotel." "This at the suggestion of Mr. Paul of St. Cuthbert's." Several of the freelances of the party changed their minds at the eleventh hour, and did attend, partly from curiosity, partly, as they said, to act as "a drag on the wheels of the chariot, now drawing perilously near the edge of the precipice." Prominent among these were Paul and his friend Dr. Bennie, Dean of the Chapel Royal, who both had the courage to state their case. Party feeling, however, ran too high for effectual intervention. Dr. Bennie was refused a hearing, and left the meeting. Shortly afterwards Paul followed his friend, but not without discharging his Parthian dart—a solid plea for settlement on the "Forty" basis. "He was not well received," says the chronicler,[35] "but certainly he spoke much better than I ever heard him." Later in the day the

[35] Dr. Henderson of Glasgow.

outgoing party realizing their tactical blunder in alienating two such valuable personalities, sent a deputation after them to Paul's house in George Square, but their attempt to patch up a peace was ineffectual. The episode was misinterpreted in high quarters. All attempts at explanation were futile. The Prime Minister writes to Sir George Sinclair:—"Whitehall, December 2nd, 1842. Dear Sinclair, I return with thanks the accompanying letters. . . . How can Dr. Leishman think we can place much confidence in the assurances and declarations of men like those who 'deceived and disappointed' him, who, after attending a meeting which he called, 'contrary to his expectations' were prevailed on to attend the Convocation? What can we think of the firmness and constancy of that 'very considerable number of ministers who disapproved of the 'Resolutions' voted by the Convocation, and yet lent the Convocation their apparent sanction by attending? Why did they not stay away? Or, being there, why did they not place on record their own opinions in the shape of a Resolution, and, regardless of being in a minority, insist upon a division? I believe the main cause of the general embarrassment is the subjection of very many ministers of the Church of Scotland, through fear and against their own conscientious convictions, to the violence and menaces of their leaders."

One other attempt Leishman made to pour oil upon the troubled waters. On 20th January, 1843, he addressed to his former friends, through the Press,[36]

[36] *Glasgow Constitutional.*

A "*Brief Appeal on behalf of the Church of Scotland* to the Ministers who attended the late Convocation in Edinburgh." Mild and dignified in tone—its aim conciliation not controversy — this now forgotten document contains an excellent *résumé* of his general principles. Put forth as an olive branch, it had a highly favourable reception throughout the Church. Thus M'Culloch of Kelso writes, 23 January, 1843:— "Allow me the privilege of expressing the very great delight which I have received from the perusal of your *Appeal on behalf of the Church of Scotland.* I admire alike the moral courage which you have displayed in coming forward at the present crisis, and the Christian and conciliatory temper in which you have conveyed your sentiments. Surely, a document so replete with wisdom, candour, and brotherly kindness cannot fail to dispel, to some extent, the delusions under which our brethren of the Convocation appear to be labouring, and to induce some of their number to reconsider the grounds of their recent resolutions as to the terms of a settlement of the Church question. At all events, *you* are entitled to the satisfaction of mind which arises from having conferred—as by this 'Appeal' you have unquestionably conferred—a signal benefit on the Church. Had the Convocationists but seriously pondered *the facts* regarding the actual constitution of the Church as settled by law, which you refer to, most delicately yet pertinently, in the paragraph of the 'Appeal,' where you quote from the *Serious Conference anent Separation*, it is scarcely possible that they could have fallen into the error of adopting such extreme doctrines, as they

appear to have done, on the subject of Spiritual Independence."

Although Sir James Graham's November letter had apparently extinguished the last flickering hope of Government intervention, Leishman's efforts to secure a settlement never slackened. *On 2nd May, 1843*, he writes to Colquhoun of Killermont:—"As to the Government having determined, as it would seem, not to bring in their Bill respecting the Church previous to the meeting of the Assembly, I need hardly say I am disappointed and grieved. I confess I cannot fathom their policy, and can only imagine it proceeding from a belief that the anticipated secession will after all be a small one, and comprise only the extreme men of the party. Such is not my belief. Nay, I am persuaded the Government will be loudly blamed, from one end of the country to the other, by many who have hitherto reposed confidence in them, should they allow the disruption to take place, without making an effort to prevent it, by announcing explicitly their intention to legislate, and by placing before the Church and the country their measure, in a distinct and intelligible shape."

Till within three days of the Secession letters kept coming to Govan Manse in the small neat hand of the Home Secretary, who seemed smitten with judicial blindness. Lord Aberdeen, apparently the only member of the Cabinet who grasped the gravity of the situation, urged immediate legislation, but in vain.

Gossip said at the time, and the statement was repeated years afterwards by a dignitary of the Church of England, that "Doctor Leishman assured

Lord Aberdeen the whole affair would end in smoke." Letters exist to prove the contrary. In point of fact the Government were bombarded with warnings. The "Forty," for example, on 18th March, 1843, sent a joint letter, in "*strong fear*," lest the Government were "not made aware of the probable extent of the Schism now likely to take place, in the event of no Bill of a healing character being brought into Parliament, before the meeting of Assembly." Leishman knew the character of his brethren too well to be in doubt as to the issue. On 6th April, 1843, he writes to Sir George Sinclair: "The only question now is as to the probable extent of the threatened Schism. That, I fear, will be much greater than many seem to imagine, in consequence of the course to which the Government seem determined to adhere. No one is disposed to make greater allowances for them, having to reconcile conflicting views and having such different advice tendered to them from different quarters. But (I say this in the bitterness of my heart) in my humble opinion they could scarcely have acted differently had they intended, what they never dreamt of for a moment, to ruin the Church of Scotland and destroy the usefulness of her Ministry."

Long before the Supreme Court met, when the Assembly roll came to be made up, it leaked out that the hitherto dominant party, much to their chagrin, were like to be left in a hopeless minority, and this, thanks mainly to the "Forty" movement. The influence of that movement was admitted on all hands. "I have read your correspondence with Sir James Graham," writes Dr. Nathaniel

Paterson. "Remember, whenever you are attacked, you have a defender in me, although no one has done us so much harm as the 'Forty.'" A trial of strength meant courting defeat. No course stood open but to beat a retreat. This decision was kept secret till the last moment, and the manœuvre carried out by the leaders in a masterly and picturesque manner. But at best, as the Duke of Argyle said, "1843 was not a victory but a flight." In their design to diminish the threatened Secession, Leishman and the Middle Party were entirely successful. It is tolerably clear that their intervention drove a wedge into the body of the seceding majority, and prevented the Disruption of Church and State. Had they come earlier into the field, they might have staved off the secession altogether; as it was, they robbed the seceders of the spoils of victory. "Not one of the original 'Forty,'" Leishman records with gratitude, "left the Church," while the "percentage of secession" from the Evangelical ranks, throughout the wide province of Glasgow and Ayr, "was the smallest in Scotland."

On the eve of the separation, a "meeting of Non-Intrusion ministers was held in Edinburgh, when the question was discussed:—"What is to be done now?" It was proposed that ministers who intended to secede should not take that step till the Queen's letter was read, since it might contain a basis of settlement. This proposal gave, apparently, general satisfaction; but Dr. Gordon rose, and said, 'Gentlemen, I do not know what is the meaning of this. For myself, instead of feeling sorry, I rejoice this

day is come, therefore, I have only to say, should I go alone, I leave the Church of Scotland to-morrow.' This settled the matter. No one had sufficient courage to oppose him."[37]

As indicating how sudden and contagious was the "Secession Fever," Leishman records:—"On the same day I had a long conversation with Dr. Lorimer of Haddington, 'What is this,' said he, 'they are going to do now? Did you ever hear of anything so absurd? What has occurred to make us leave the Kirk of Scotland? If Sir Henry Moncrieff or Dr. Andrew Thomson had been alive, things would never have come to this pass. I am determined to remain in the Church, and my son[38] thinks exactly as I do.'"

Turner and Dr. Lorimer sat together in the Minister's Gallery when the Seceders walked out. "I would like," said the Doctor, "to see how they look in the street, but I will be back in about ten minutes." "You had better not go out," said Turner, "if you are seen in the street, you will be supposed to be one of them." "No danger," was the reply. The result was as Turner foresaw, whether carried away by his feelings, or led by curiosity, Lorimer followed the multitude almost immediately to Tanfield Hall.

The attitude of Bruce of Kennet on the day of the secession was characteristic, no doubt, of many others. Near "the door of outlet," says an eye-

[37] "Told me on the authority of a Free Church minister who was present." M.L.

[38] Incumbent of St. David's, Glasgow, a church known locally as the *Ram's Horn*.

witness, "stood Kennet, solitary, in one of the empty benches, with the saddest expression" on his face, watching friend after friend depart, but he himself remained, soldier-like, steadfast at his post. After 1843, disapproving apparently of the Assembly's decision in the Strathbogie case, in his opinion too informal a mode of revoking an ecclesiastical sentence,[39] he ceased to sit in the Supreme Court. He declined, however, on so minor a point, to leave the Church of Scotland, and continued to his death, in 1864, to serve as a *bona fide* acting elder in the Parish of Clackmannan. Dr. Peter Balfour, his parish clergyman, a stiff-backed evangelical churchman of the old school, was one of the "Forty."

Although an eye-witness, Leishman has left no written record of his inner feelings on that eventful Thursday. If, as his son records in a juvenile diary, he returned to Govan "down in the mouth about the Kirk," he did not "bate one jot of heart or hope," but threw himself at once into the dolorous task of repairing the breaches in the walls of Zion. An attempt made by the Seceders to purchase a site close to the entrance of Govan Church was frustrated. On 4th June, the second Sunday "after the deluge," to borrow one of Dr. John Muir's picturesque phrases, Leishman preached thrice from his own pulpit. No outline of these sermons now survives, but an old parishioner supplies the texts, in themselves sufficiently eloquent. The country then

[39] Among others who shared this opinion was the late Dr. William Milligan of Aberdeen, who held that "the Assembly's sentence should be formally withdrawn on the ground of wrongousness, not merely treated as *ab initio* null and void."

rang with the distinction between the so-called "bond" and "free," but Leishman does not hesitate to rank himself with the Apostle of the Gentiles, as "*an ambassador in bonds*,"[40] adding, "*The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.*"[41] Equally significant to any one acquainted with his views on the duty of fidelity to Ordination pledges, was his afternoon text:—"*I will pay my vows before them that fear Him;*"[42] most pointed of all, his evening theme:—"*One Lord, one faith, one baptism*," coupled with the Redeemer's prayer for the Roman soldiers who feared on Calvary to rend the seamless robe, and the Apostolic appeal:—"*Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice.*"[43]

For a fortnight after the Disruption, Leishman "kept his mouth with a bridle." It was in the Presbytery of Glasgow that he first broke silence, seconding a motion made by the Principal of the University, that they should accept demission of the vacant charges:—"The Schism which has now taken place is one that I have long dreaded and, it is well known, have in various ways employed my humble but honest efforts to avert. Now that it has occurred, the separation of so many of our old friends and fellow-labourers is most distressing to all. For myself, no occurrence of a public nature has ever filled me with greater sorrow. Had I followed the impulse of my own feelings, I must say that I should have gone along with them, and would now have

[40] Ephesians vi. 20. [41] Romans viii. 16. [42] Psalm xxii. 25.
[43] St. John xix. 23. Eph. iv. 5, 31.

been no longer a member of this Presbytery. But, had I done this, had I been actuated by the impulse of my feelings, I must have acted in opposition to my view of duty and done violence to my conscience. The Church of Scotland is not perfect, but where is there any institution that is perfect? There have been many proceedings on the part of the Civil Courts which I condemn as strongly as any man can do; but I do not consider myself warranted on this account in setting aside my Ordination Vows, or in turning my back on the Church of our Fathers, to combine with those who would overturn her. I will remain here still and say:—'*Destroy her not, for a blessing is in her.*' At the present crisis, when Infidelity and Popery are overspreading the land, instead of weakening one another's hands by separating on minor points of difference, it was to have been wished that we should have co-operated more cordially and zealously in the labours of Christian love. Meantime, we should take great care how we speak and act in reference to our separated Brethren. Should they, in the time of their excitement, speak harshly of us, let us not return railing for railing. Known to God are the hearts of all men, and let us still entertain the hope that with some of those who are now separated from us we will be brought once more together; and, so long as any hope exists of regaining any one of them, I hope we will show an anxiety to be united, show our respect and esteem for them, and gladly co-operate with them in the service of our common

Master. Who can tell what a few weeks' calm consideration may do? Who can tell what the measures brought before Parliament may do? Let us hope, therefore, even though we should hope against hope, and let us pray, that we may all meet at last in our Father's house."

To his dying day, Leishman regarded the Secession as a great national calamity. "Although I never hesitated at the time," says he, "as to the course I ought to take, no one ever lamented more that sad event, which I still think might have been avoided had less temper been displayed by leading men in both parties."[44] It were idle now to adjust the balance of blame. The case has passed to a higher tribunal. No doubt there were faults on both sides. The only sections of the community who can have viewed the Disruption with satisfaction were perhaps those who must hope to gain by it. Romanism saw a bulwark of the Reformation laid in ruins; the Rationalism of the time saw in it a blow to organised Christianity. The late Lord Acton, from the standpoint of the Liberal Roman Catholic, was probably not far from the mark in deeming the Disruption "a movement that will be remarkable in the history of religious liberty"—if "liberty" be understood in the Miltonic sense.[45]

"The mistake made by our Disruption Fathers," admits one of their modern advocates,[46] "was the

[44] Speech at Jubilee banquet, 1871.

[45] "License they mean when they cry libertie." Sonnet xii.

[46] The late Mr. Taylor Innes. See Lord Sands' *Dr. Archibald Scott*, 27.

same as that of James VII. & II. in not sitting still till driven out by the sword." Higher is the note struck by another representative of the Free Church Laity:—[47] "If indeed the Kirk of Scotland could ever be called a vine of Christ's planting—and who can doubt it? . . . I cannot divest myself of the conviction that no power on earth should have tempted us to leave it . . . We should have preferred to suffer in it."

Too long unacknowledged has been our debt of gratitude to that little group of loyal Churchmen who, cherishing similar convictions and "*choosing rather to reform than to disrupt*,"[48] stood firm in the Church's evil day. "There can be little doubt," said the late Dr. Archibald Scott of St. George's to the present writer, "It was your grandfather, and the Middle Party of 1843, who saved the Church of Scotland."

[47] Stothert of Cargen. *Life of Dr. Moody Stewart*, 79.

[48] Sermon delivered at Govan Church, Aug. 16, 1874, by Dr. Gillan of Inchinnan.

CHAPTER V

After the Earthquake

1843—1874

"Strange to us it seem'd
At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in Festivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire."

Paradise Lost.

THE unwonted calm within the Church which succeeded the Secession of 1843, has been irreverently likened to the state of affairs described by Milton as prevalent in heaven after the expulsion of the rebel angels. To the Middle Party, however, it was suggestive of *Purgatorio* rather than *Paradiso*, and the calm was one of exhaustion and not of relief. Leishman writes to Lord Aberdeen on 14th June, 1843:—"I find it hard to bear up against difficulties and discouragements of the most sickening nature." The Church had certainly lost much of her best blood in the struggle, and the situation, inside the Highland line at least, was serious if not critical, especially in regions dominated by the "*Men*."[1] That singular guild of lay preachers, in type much akin to the Wesleyan class leaders, had, as a rule, cast in their lot with the Free Church, and their influence accounted largely for the high percentage of secession in the Northern Shires.

[1] See *Fanaticism in the Far North* by "Investigator," a pseudonym for the late Dr. Kenneth Maclay Phin of Galashiels, who, as a son of the manse of Wick, wrote from personal knowledge. Also *Quarterly Review*, September, 1851, then edited by John Gibson Lockhart.

It is clear, from Leishman's correspondence, that the pictures etched by hostile pens of the state of the Church south of the Grampians, after the Secession are overdrawn. Tested by statistics, the Church's condition was anything but moribund; "*quietness and confidence*" were the dominant notes. Thus Leishman writes to Lord Aberdeen from Govan on 27th June, 1843:—"For some years past, we have had four hundred communicants. Last Sabbath we had only about thirty less, although the Sacrament was dispensed on the same day at Partick,[2] a mile distant, and various protesting ministers have been preaching, for several weeks, in my own immediate neighbourhood." The state of affairs at St. George's, Edinburgh, under Candlish a citadel of Free Churchism, is revealed in a letter penned by a prominent Edinburgh citizen,[3] 7th June, 1843, and forwarded to Leishman by Sir George Sinclair from Leicester:—"Of the twenty-two elders of St. George's, seven only have joined the Free Church. . . . A number of families who had left the church, in consequence of the troubles, have again returned. Among others, I was happy to find all your family.[4]

[2] Chapel of Ease then served by Robert Paisley, afterwards of St. Ninians.

[3] J. S. More, Professor of Scots Law. Lockhart describes him as—"a sound lawyer and an honest man."

[4] The Sinclair family above alluded to numbered fifteen, a small congregation in itself. It included the talented Catherine Sinclair, authoress of *Holiday House*, whose monument still adorns a neighbouring street, Julia, afterwards Countess of Glasgow, and William, future Vicar of St. George's, Leeds, and Prebendary of Chichester, father of the late Archdeacon Sinclair of St. Paul's. The Sinclairs were notable for their height, "which ranged from six feet to six feet eight inches." The pavement outside their old Edinburgh home in George Square, paved with huge Caithness flagstones, was known as "the Giants' Causeway."

On the two last Sundays the church was quite respectably filled; and I should think not a third of the congregation have left. The Kirk Session appointed billets to be placed in the pews last Sunday, calling all the male communicants to meet in the church yesterday, to consider what steps should be taken for filling up the vacancy. There was a pretty numerous attendance. I hope and trust that, notwithstanding all that has happened, and which is much to be deplored, the Church of Scotland will be protected by her Great Head; and that all, however painful, will be overruled for the extension of His Kingdom, and the welfare of His Church. I was much pleased with the Christian spirit which seemed to pervade the last General Assembly—the kind and brotherly manner in which our separating brethren were remembered at the Throne of Grace."

The most bitter fruit of the Disruption was the discord which it engendered in families. Even wives,[5] at times, declined to worship with their husbands; life-long friendships were dissolved; and the old, easy, pleasant clerical intercourse which subsisted between neighbouring manses not infrequently ceased. Nearly all Leishman's clerical kinsfolk left the Church, but not even the Disruption could destroy his "unblotted and unwavering friendship" with Charles Watson, who wrote shortly after the event, "I wish that though you are *in*, and I *out*, we be to one another as we have always been." Among those who "abode in the ship" was Leishman's mother-in-law, Mrs. Boog. A clever, dignified little gentlewoman of the old school, accustomed on most

[5] *e.g.*, the wife of the minister of Kelso.

matters to think for herself, when all her family left the Church in 1843 she clung to the walls of Zion. Living with her daughter at 19 Royal Terrace, she continued till her death in extreme old age, to worship under the scholarly and devout Dr. Glover of Greenside, one of the "Forty." When summering at Peebles, however, she would go on occasion to worship with her family. One Sunday morning as they returned home, her companions loud in laudation of the Free Church, she disconcerted her daughter by the dry enquiry:—"This is very interesting, but pray, Madam, do tell me, what is it precisely that you are free from?"

Within the Church, after 1843, there was of necessity a drawing together of the Moderate and Evangelical schools and, in most cases, a burial of the hatchet. The influence of the "Forty" did not cease with the Secession. At every turn their footprints are traceable, and in nearly every forward movement within the Church during the next two decades, they furnish a large share of the driving power; the party traditions of courage and statesmanship being well sustained by their disciples and sons. By public addresses to their parishioners; by speeches in Church Courts; by literary skill (for their names figure largely in the pamphlet war of the period); above all, by personal influence as quiet, duty-loving parish priests; they left an indelible mark on the history of the Church. Several of their publications are still worthy of perusal. Lockhart's *Facts not Falsehoods, a plain defence of the Church*

of Scotland[6] (1845); Norman Macleod's *Cracks aboot the Kirk for Kintra Folk*, and Leishman's contributions to the columns of the *Glasgow Constitutional* did signal service to the Church. Throughout the West of Scotland the journal in question was popularly known as *Dr. Leishman's Organ*, and for many years, both before and after the secession, all the leading Church Articles came from his pen. Matthew Leishman wrote a rather crabbed hand, as his eldest son knew to his cost. Many a weary hour after midnight was spent in copying out his father's lucubrations for the press.

Hugh Miller, who had a gift of invective, and as editor of the *Witness* "probably did more than any other person to push on the Disruption,"[7] on several occasions crossed swords with Leishman, while allusions to "Ali Baba," "the Oil Kettle," and the "Forty" form part of his regular stock in trade. Other journals did not hesitate to follow suit.[8]

The closing decades of Leishman's life, while fruitful in practical result, offer few features of public interest. One can but chronicle certain of the more prominent facts, especially such as serve to illustrate his church principles and ecclesiastical methods. "The melancholy duty of filling up vacancies" was

[6] To this treatise, which sold by thousands, Lockhart prefixed the words of Jeremiah, afterwards adopted as the motto of the "Scottish Church Society," "*Ask for the old paths . . . and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.*"

[7] Chrystal's *Defence of the Forty*, 9.

[8] *e.g.*, "The party in the Church yclept the 'Forty Thieves,' we understand, are about to start a twice a week paper in this city, as the organ of their opinions. We have not heard what is to be the name of this new paper, but think it may very appropriately be called *The Ali Baba.*"—*Edinburgh Scottish Guardian*, Dec. 19, 1843.

the first task to claim his attention. On 10th June, 1843, Leishman writes to Sir George Sinclair:—"The sooner Thurso is filled up the better. Still a long vacancy is better than a bad appointment. One of the most influential of the Glasgow magistrates has asked me to recommend some good and faithful men, *not Moderates*, to fill the vacant city charges. A well-known Scottish nobleman, 'anxious to have his parishes filled with good and useful ministers,' begs me to nominate incumbents for four vacant charges."[9]

Leishman's hand is also traceable in the *Church of Scotland Benefices Act* of August, 1843, he being "one of the few who took Lord Aberdeen's bill cordially."[10] This tardy attempt to redress the Church's grievances narrowly escaped shipwreck, and came to harbour through heavy seas, being bitterly opposed at once by the Free Church, the extreme Moderates, and the English Law Lords whose Erastian souls were sadly perturbed at such "power being given unto men." It was only Lord Aberdeen's threat of resignation which secured the concurrence of the Cabinet. "Whatever its merits or demerits, the credit of this measure belonged of right to the Middle Party."[11] Both in and out of Parliament many looked to Leishman for counsel. Early in June, Norman Macleod writes:—"I beseech you to send me one line saying what you think of the Bill, by return of post. I can accept it on the

[9] Erskine, Blantyre, Bolton, and Old Kilpatrick. Leishman's services to Lord Blantyre on this occasion were acknowledged by the gift of a superbly bound folio copy of Bagster's Polyglot Bible, now in the writer's possession.

[10] Principal Pirie of Aberdeen. 2nd July, 1857.

[11] Bryce II. 407. *Cf.* Greville II. 207.

grounds which I have always occupied, but will it prevent a second secession? . . . I will D.V. be at our meeting on Tuesday. In the meantime do hang out a signal—a cheering one, I beg of you—in the storm."

On the 14th June, Leishman writes to Lord Aberdeen:—"At the request of some respectable clergymen and distinguished laymen we met at Edinburgh yesterday, privately, to hear each other's sentiments respecting the Bill. Dr. Gardiner of Bothwell was in the chair; Lord Belhaven, Sir Charles Fergusson, Mr. Bruce of Kennet, Dr. M'Nair of Paisley, Dr. Black of the Barony, Rev. John Paul, Dr. Glover, and upwards of thirty other clergymen were also present. The proposal was made to appoint a deputation consisting of Lord Belhaven, Sir Charles Fergusson, Mr. Bruce, and myself, to proceed to London to make known the views of the meeting." Ultimately "it was decided to approach Government by letter, Sir Charles Fergusson and myself being authorised to state the case to your Lordship, or some other member of the Cabinet." On 23rd June Lord Aberdeen replies:—"I beg to assure you I shall do my best to carry the Bill through Parliament, unimpaired, despite the formidable opposition which the measure has encountered from the highest legal authorities." Among the objectors was John Hope, the Dean of Faculty, who terms the measure—"worse than Lord Aberdeen's Bill of 1841, not an adjustment but a victory, or a struggle for victory, on the principle of a Papal Bull." The resemblance to Hildebrandism thus suggested—a resemblance more apparent than real in the case of

the Free Church movement — was that which awoke interest, if not sympathy, among the early Tractarians. Robert Wilberforce, vexed in spirit on the score of the Royal Supremacy, even suggested leaving the Church of England and setting up a Free Church in South Britain. He consulted Archdeacon Manning on the subject. Manning's answer, however, he himself being then on the eve of secession to Rome, was not encouraging:—"No! Three hundred years ago we left a good ship for a boat. I am not going to leave the boat for a tub."[12]

Throughout Leishman's incumbency Govan Church was invariably crowded. The front seats in the gallery were occupied by the "quality"—Dunlops of Craigton, Rowands of Linthouse, MacLeans of Plantation, Robertsons of Whitefield, and Urquharts of Moss. Among the regular worshippers were Graham Gilbert the artist, and James Smith of Jordanhill. Govan being a college living, and within easy reach, Govan Church was a favourite goal of pilgrimage with the Glasgow students, affording a pleasant excuse for a two-mile stroll into the country on Sunday afternoons. Among those who shared in these expeditions were John Marshall, who afterwards succeeded his father upon the bench as the second Lord Curriehill, and his brother Theodore, "one of the most lawyerly men who ever sat in the Moderator's Chair"[13]; A. K. H. Boyd, the popular preacher and essayist, who sacrificed a lucrative law post in London to cast in his lot with the Church in her evil day; John Marshall Lang, father of the

[12] Purcell's *Life*, I. 591.

[13] *Archd. Scott and his Times*, by Lord Sands, 96.

present Archbishop of York; and George Washington Sprott, the future liturgist, fresh from Nova Scotia. In after days Sprott often spoke of the salutary impression left upon his mind by a sermon on religious reverence, heard from Leishman's lips on one of these occasions, his text being:—*Fools make a mock at sin.*

The revival of the office of preaching in Scotland belongs mainly to the Evangelical party. The moderate clergy as a class rarely wrote new sermons. Viewing the preacher from an Academic standpoint, chiefly as a teacher of morals, they had small scruple in regaling their flocks with what the French priests call "stale bread."[14] Not a few took their cue from Principal Hill of St. Andrews, then the fountainhead of Divinity in Scotland. Dr. Hill, Leishman tells us, had "only a three years' course of sermons and two of lectures. After he had delivered these, he regularly began them again." Some of the sermons preached were not even written in the Manses. Legend has it that a certain Presbytery, situate in what Chalmers used to style "the spiritual wastes of Aberdeenshire," once clubbed together to procure a keg of new sermons to be sent North by the Leith smack.[15] In some districts a fresh home-made discourse was quite an event. The rise of the Evangelical party changed all this. A new school of preachers arose, including some of the greatest masters of pulpit eloquence Scotland has yet pro-

[14] *Le pain cuit:* Bp. Felix Dupanloup.—*Entretiens sur la Prédication Populaire*, 194.

[15] This on the authority of the Very Rev. David Paul, D.D., LL.D., who had it from his father, the Rev. Dr. Paul of Banchory.

duced: Andrew Thomson, Thomas Chalmers, Edward Irving, and Norman Macleod. The new school preached "in season and out of season." The saintly Horatius Bonar, whose best known hymns were written during his Ministry at Kelso before the Disruption, used to preach thrice each Sunday, twice in church, once in the open air. Leishman's sermons at Govan seldom occupied less than an hour, and were delivered with fervour. They were carefully composed and written out early in the week, Saturday being devoted to the weary task of committal to memory. "In the pulpit," says a contemporary, writing in October, 1847, "even a foe could never question his qualifications for the office of a spiritual teacher. He enters with the calm steady demeanour of a man who has a high and holy office to fulfil, and feels its responsibility. There is nothing frowning or forbidding about him. . . . Some fifty winters have thinned his locks, yet he has a hearty, hale appearance, at once attractive and dignified. In reading his voice is clear, the intonation distinct and sonorous; in prayer deep, fervid and impressive." His prayers "are excellent, not rant and vociferation, but the simple outpouring of the soul before its Creator, the expressed desire for Divine blessing and the humble confession of unworthiness, clothed in the beautiful diction of the Bible." In preaching he "rarely uses notes. His command of language is great. His sentences are short and graphic. . . . In his style and language the scholar is manifest. There gleams forth a wide acquaintance with classic as well as modern literature. His object is to teach. He does not scatter flowers of rhetoric.

. . . He excels in illustration. We need hardly add that his orthodoxy is unquestionable. . . . Christ as the sinner's hope and believer's joy is the alpha and omega of his theme."

Further, "he is not one of those

> '. . . who thinks his Sunday task
> As much as God or man can fairly ask,'

but is ever at the call of his flock, the humblest as well as the highest. He has been settled in Govan for more than a quarter of a century. The fruit of his labours, '*the day shall declare.*'"[16]

If Leishman's first quarter of a century in Govan witnessed great changes, the next was destined to see still greater. Up to the time of the American War, Glasgow possessed practically a monopoly of the Tobacco Trade.[17] Tobacco, West Indian sugar, cotton, and coal now gave place to shipbuilding. How recent is the rise of the great Clyde industry may be judged from the fact that when Leishman wrote his careful *Statistical Account of Govan* in 1839, shipbuilding is not even mentioned. The earliest allusion to that craft found among his papers is a note in the handwriting of his eldest son. "Aug. 18, 1841:—We all went down to-day to see the launch of the *Peruvian* from that horrid building yard just opposite the Ferry." How little did the boyish writer foresee that the new industry would bring untold wealth to his native hamlet, and make Govan the "most populous parish in the British Isles." In the summer after the Secession

[16] *Scottish Clergy*, I. 306.

[17] "Of 90,000 hogsheads from Virginia, 49,000 came to the Clyde." Denholm's *History of Glasgow.*

the same hand records[18]:—"Sat in my room in the attics for two hours with a telescope, looking at persons and things on the river. Two launches to-day, one at Alexander's Dock, and another at Napier's, a barque for the Calcutta trade."

To his sister Marion at Torquay, two years before his death, Matthew Leishman writes:—"When you and I came to Govan in 1821, it did not contain over 1,000 inhabitants; now (July, 1872) it contains over 26,000. There was then only one small chapel belonging to the 'Relief' body." To-day (1921) there are over thirty charges connected with the Church of Scotland alone, while the population of the civil parish of Govan exceeds that of the city of Edinburgh.[19] A Cabinet Minister[20] on visiting Govan in 1882, doubted "whether America or Australia could furnish a parallel for rapid increase."

During the remainder of his incumbency the chief problem which confronted Leishman was Church Extension. Night and day he was haunted by the question:—"How best can I provide for the spiritual wants of my overgrown parish?" To meet the rapid inrush of population he utilised the only method then available, that of the Chapel of Ease. Unlike many of the older clergy, who grudged breaking up their parishes, Leishman, both before and after the Secession, pressed for the erection of new charges. "If," said he, in the Presbytery of Glasgow, "we do not proceed immediately to erect

[18] 28th June, 1843.

[19] Or at least did so before the recent extension of that city's boundaries.

[20] W. E. Forster.

new churches, we shall soon be supplanted or displaced." His most trusty henchman in this matter was the new minister of the Barony. On Sept. 6th, 1853, Norman Macleod, writes:—"Hillhead must be built. You and I are the men to do it, with or without 'Sinclair's *claws*.'" It was Macleod who first directed Leishman's attention to the then novel invention, "iron churches." "The Church of England are sending out beautiful durable churches of this material to Australia. You can screw one up for about thirty shillings a sitting, and the beauty is, unlike some of our *Quoad Sacras*, unscrew it when you please." Though by no means wealthy, Leishman headed each subscription list with £50, and strove to have all his chapels officered by efficient men. Of these, probably the most notable was Archibald Scott, whom Leishman, with a quick eye for budding merit, brought from Abernethy-on-Tay in 1864, to occupy his just opened Maxwell Church, so named after Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok, who had granted a free site. Space forbids us even to outline Leishman's labours in the field of Church Extension, enough to note that seven years before his death he was able to write to his sister at Torquay:—"Add Hillhead, this will make twelve chapels, now *quoad sacra* Parish Churches, built since I came." How he rejoiced over these homes of prayer! especially over "Maxwell," under Archibald Scott, "crowded to the door." "Yet, after all," he adds, "these are very inadequate proofs of my love to the Saviour. I must still say, 'I am but an unprofitable servant,' I have done what it was but my duty to do."

An excellent man of business, Matthew Leishman was well qualified to deal with the altered conditions of life in Govan. His skilful pilotage of the *Govan Glebe Feuing Bill* in 1848, may serve as an illustration. The *Memorial* in which Leishman first outlines the objects of this measure has been described as a "most convincing and judicious narrative":—"There can be no doubt that this village will very soon be a suburb of Glasgow. Since I came to the Parish the population [21] has increased to about 70,000. The church and the situation on which it stands have long been admired, and as the place in which I am resolved to live, and labour, and die, I am fully prepared to sympathise with those who speak most strongly in commemoration of everything connected with it. . . . But with public works of different kinds approaching and gathering round us, its rural beauty is already irretrievably injured. The country church surrounded by green fields must soon be merged in the crowded manufacturing suburb of a great city. It is evident that in a very short time, up to Glasgow Bridge, the Clyde on both sides will be lined with public works or buildings, just as the Thames now is between Blackwall and Westminster Bridge. Various public works are already in close contact with the manse. Three of these are iron and shipbuilding works, one is situated immediately opposite the manse. Steam vessels of the largest class and for all parts of the world, are built here. As upwards of 1,500 hands are employed in these three works, some idea may be formed of the noise, proceeding

[21] To what area Leishman's figures refer is not quite clear, village, burgh, ecclesiastical or civil parish. *Cf. Parish of Govan.* A. Wallace, 1877.

simultaneously from hundreds of hammers, sometimes not even suspended during the night. There is also a large dyework in which about a hundred and twenty persons are employed. It cannot, therefore, be thought wonderful that the present incumbent has become desirous to exchange his manse for another in a situation more favourable to study, and conducive to his own comfort, and that of his family." Unhealthily situated in a corner of the churchyard, the old manse had already exacted a heavy toll in young lives. . . . "No portion of the money got from the feuing of the Glebe may ever come into my possession. That, I can honestly say, is not what I am anxious about; with the concurrence of the College, as patrons of the benefice, I am perfectly willing to give up the whole, or any part of the proceeds, to assist in endowing the different Chapels of Ease in the parish, provided only that, in the first instance, a new manse in a different spot shall be built for the minister of the parish, and an equivalent given for the present rent of the Glebe."

For the execution of this scheme an Act of Parliament was necessary, and the heritors were divided. The opposition was headed by a certain James Hozier, a riparian proprietor opposite the manse, who, illogically enough, had just parted with five of his own acres, pocketing by the transaction £10,000.

Nothing daunted, Leishman carried the matter to the House of Lords, and his Bill,[22] supported by James

[22] See Dr. Leishman's *Govan Glebe Feuing Bill*, Dec. 1848.

Smith of Jordanhill, Graham Gilbert, and his life-long ally Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok, soon became law. In due time the old manse vanished, to be replaced by the present unromantic suburban villa, far distant from the old site. Three irksome years were occupied in these negotiations. According to Lawrence Lockhart, an inveterate punster, on the first Sunday after his return in triumph from London, Leishman announced his text from the Book of *Hozier*.

In August, 1844, it fell to Matthew Leishman, as Moderator of the Presbytery of Glasgow, to present addresses of welcome to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on board the Royal Yacht *Fairy*, on the occasion of their first visit to the Clyde. His fellow-deputies were Dr. Black of the Barony and Dr. Boyd of St. Mary's, both members of the original "Forty," with Dr. Norman Macleod of St. Columba's, one of her Majesty's Chaplains.

Endorsing the dictum of Chalmers that "a house-going minister makes a church-going people," Leishman had an unwavering belief in the spiritual efficacy of Pastoral Visitation. His constant advice to his "helpers," of whom he usually kept two, was:—"*Do the work of an Evangelist.*" Pastoral visits, accompanied with prayer and the reading of the Holy Scripture, were, in those days, clearly expected and welcomed by all classes. Even the havoc wrought by the Disruption, which elsewhere sowed discord and put a heavy strain upon the patience and prudence of the parochial clergy, was little in evidence at Govan, and Leishman continued to visit all his parishioners as before.

In September, 1843, Dunlop of Craigton, who had left Govan Church at the Secession, wrote:—"While glad to see you in your private capacity, in future I must decline your official visits." Leishman, who lacked leisure for mere calls of politeness, and acted on Irving's precept:—"Be thou the Pastor always; less than the Pastor never. Go thus, or go not at all,[23] replied:—"According to my usual practice, I intend to visit your district of the parish to-morrow, and shall be happy to visit your family as formerly. At the same time I have no wish to be an intrusionist in any character, and should like to know, this evening, whether my early morning visit will be acceptable." Presumably Dunlop's reply was favourable, since he and his parish clergyman continued on friendly terms.

An old Govan parishioner, writing from Canada, recalls how Leishman, when he came to see him, a schoolboy at the Edinburgh Academy, never failed before leaving to kneel down and pray. After dining in London with Howard the Banker, and his wife Lady Mary Masham, a niece of the Duke of Buccleuch, Leishman records in his Diary:—"Was asked to give prayers before I came away." Alike in the house of the Glasgow "tobacco lord," the Govan farmer, or the Hillhead collier, what Butler calls *the face of religion* was then more in evidence than now. At Greenock few Sundays passed without requests for prayer being made for crews of sea-going vessels.

Very early in his ministry, Leishman had to face

[23] *Ordination charge at London Wall*, 15th March, 1827.

the liquor problem, and may fairly be claimed as a pioneer in the modern Temperance Movement. At Govan, as in other parts of Scotland, among all classes of society the call for reform was urgent. During the quarter of a century since 1825 the consumption of spirits had increased fivefold. In the West country a pleasant but insidious beverage, known as "Glasgow Punch," was much in favour. Intemperance was accounted a venial offence. At market and fair a "dry bargain" was practically unknown. Copious libations were the rule at Baptism, Marriage, and even Burial.[24] "The life of the Scottish peasant was in short a perpetual carousal." In the Clyde building yards[25] the "garnish" system was in force, and the "launch bowl" a recognised institution. Though Leishman rarely purchased wine, the Manse cellar,[26] throughout his incumbency, was always well stocked, gifts of choice wine being the usual mode of requiting the parish clergy for their services on special occasions. The first Temperance Society north of the Tweed was founded at Maryhill, Glasgow, on 1st October, 1829. When the *Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society* was founded in November of the same year, by John Dunlop, a brother of the author of the *Claim of Right*, he found in Leishman one of its

[24] In Govan on one occasion, when Leishman rose, in accordance with custom, to offer prayer after a funeral banquet, he was interrupted by a whispered request from the undertaker:—"Now, Doctor, please be as *dreich*" (verbose, long-winded) "as you can, for we've a' the glasses to pack."

[25] *Drinking Usages of North Britain*, 38. Dunlop, 1836.

[26] From the currants in the old Manse garden down by the river, an excellent home-made wine was concocted by his wife. For this annual vintage Leishman devised the rather happy name of *Vangovia*.

earliest supporters. Their pledge was—to "Relinquish the use of ardent spirits except for medical purposes," although "the moderate use of other liquors is not excluded." A Govan branch of this Society was formed in 1831, its roll containing a hundred and twenty names. The death in 1856 of Father Mathew, the pious Capuchin, whose good work among the Glasgow Irish aroused widespread interest, helped to quicken the public conscience; as did also the strictures of the *Saturday Review*,[27] given currency all over Europe by Dr. Döllinger,[28] who described the "sons of the Covenanters" in Glasgow as "the most drunken population on the face of the earth." Among the middle classes, intemperance was already on the wane. On the authority of his friend More, Professor of Scots Law at Edinburgh, Leishman records that "the late Lord President Hope, who always acted as his own butler, formerly thought he laid out a sufficient number of bottles of claret when he allowed one bottle and a half for each guest, with a few bottles, of course, in reserve. 'Now,'[29] said he, 'I find half a bottle for each guest enough.'" Among current remedies for Intemperance, Leishman favoured popular control, a heavy tax on spirits, and the introduction of light wines. In April, 1869, he writes to his clerical neighbour, Lees,[30] one of the

[27] *Sat. Rev.*, 8th Oct., 1859.

[28] *The Church and the Churches*, 188.

[29] Sept. 21, 1860.

[30] Afterwards better known as the Very Rev. James Cameron Lees, D.D., of St. Giles, Edinburgh, Chaplain to Queen Victoria and Dean of the Order of the Thistle. He it was who baptized Victoria Eugénie, the present Queen of Spain.

incumbents of Paisley Abbey:—"I invite your attention to the disgraceful scenes witnessed every Lord's Day at the "Three Mile House," a nuisance to all the respectable inhabitants in this neighbourhood, and I would concur with you, by petition, or otherwise, to put down the *origo mali*, the two public houses in question." Leishman had little patience with the common objection:—"It is impossible to make a man sober by Act of Parliament." "Great good," says he in the autumn of 1856, "has resulted in our rural, as well as in our burghal, parishes from the passage of what is familiarly known as the *Forbes M'Kenzie Act.* Before that Act was in operation, scenes of revolting intemperance on the Lord's Day were of frequent occurrence. They are now comparatively rare." To the last Leishman remained a warm advocate of Temperance Work on the dual basis. His views are clearly indicated in a letter to the Secretary of the Govan *Total Abstinence Society*:—"While I strongly sympathise with your commendable desire to check the growth of intemperance, I cannot abuse, nor condemn, all who do not adopt to the full your temperance principles."

In the autumn of 1851, under the auspices of the *Royal Bounty*, Leishman was sent North, one of three Commissioners, to visit and report on the state of Church Schools in the Western Highlands and Islands. His "companions in travel," Dr. Craik and Dr. Colin Smith of Inverary, were both strong supporters of the Middle Party. Having at Govan, over seven hundred Gaelic-speaking[31] parishioners,

[31] *cf.* Returns for 1863.

and twenty-two Church Schools under his control, Leishman was well-qualified to act as an Educational Deputy. From early childhood his interest in the Highlands had been whetted by his mother's tales, coupled with the stories of Dr. Boog of Paisley Abbey, of whom he "saw a great deal in early days." Dr. Boog's custom was to take a walking tour, every summer, inside the Highland line.

The Scottish Highlands were now becoming one of the playgrounds of Europe. "Everywhere," writes Leishman, "we found a Southron population fast displacing the Celt." The school buildings had, as a rule, clay floors and thatched roofs. The chief text-books were the Bible and the *Shorter Catechism.* The religious difficulty was non-existent. Romanist and Protestant sat peaceably, cheek by jowl, on the same bench. "So far from objecting to send Roman Catholic children to the parochial school, Dr. M'Leod of Morven told me that a Romish Priest actually brought him two children, who were then living with him, that they might be put to school." The thirst for knowledge was general and the scholars of all ages. In a remote Highland glen, Leishman found a reading lesson in progress from the Book of *Proverbs.* A venerable greyhaired Celt sat *dux*, next to him a very small girl dissolved in tears, who gave as her reason:—"Please sir, I ha'e trappit my grandfaither and he'll no' let me up."

The state of Religion in those northern regions, as pictured by Leishman's Journal, is somewhat sombre. "On South Uist three-fourths of the population are Roman Catholic. We found no fewer than three Roman priests on the island, but

for whom the islanders must have been sunk in heathenism." On all hands they saw traces of the storm of 1843. Time and again Leishman laments, what is still perhaps the chief blot on Celtic religion, infrequency of Holy Communion. "In Benbecula,[32] the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has not, I suppose, been dispensed above three or four times during the present incumbency, a period of thirty-five years. At Canna, where two-thirds of the population are Roman Catholic, in the Mission Church, a small plain building and thatched, we had about a hundred present. I was much affected by the simple but rich melody of the first psalm and the devotional manner of the congregation, even to the shedding of tears. I felt my sympathy and my heart strongly drawn to them, while praising the God whom I serve, and the Saviour whom I love. The service continued about three hours, after which I mounted my horse, which was a good one, and reached Valay soon after six." From Lochmaddy, the Deputies sailed to Skye. "There we saw one of the caves in which Prince Charles concealed himself after Culloden, only accessible by sea. At Dunvegan, a very stately building, is still shown the room where Dr. Johnson slept."

Leishman's account of the neglect of Baptism then prevalent in Skye, a legacy no doubt from the notorious "Rory M'Leod" of Bracadale,[33] is startling.

[32] A suppressed parish since revived, Benbecula was then included in South Uist.

[33] Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton describes Roderick M'Leod as a minister "wrong headed and obstinate to a degree." Taken to task by his Presbytery, he was suspended by the General Assembly, 5th May, 1826, for disobedience in refusing to christen a child. Translated to Snizort in 1838, he left the church in 1843.

"At Duirinish the catechist ascertained from personal enquiry that there were seven hundred and seventeen unbaptised persons. At Snizort, I preached on the Sunday after the Communion. Old women were there with caps and shawls, young women with bonnets. One old man wore his night cap with perfect unconcern." Daily, during that August of 1851, often from six in the morning till dusk, sometimes even by moonlight, the deputies threaded their way among the misty islands by boat, or passed long hours on foot, or in the saddle, upon the mainland. Arduous as was their task, it was pleasantly enlivened by the lavish hospitality showered upon them by the Highland lairds, and the congenial company of Dr. John M'Leod, Moderator of the General Assembly that year, and known throughout the Church, on account of his giant stature, as the "High Priest" of Morven. For great part of the way he acted as cicerone, and had "an anecdote or interesting story to tell of every place that attracted our attention." Among the places visited by the Deputation were Staffa and Iona. "Sept. 7, 1851," Leishman records:—"I rode Mr. Campbell's horse from the manse to Iona and preached there. We had service again in the afternoon. Before the service was over, the moon had risen on these venerable ruins."

Shortly after his return home to Govan, Leishman crossed the Border to visit Gateshead Rectory, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Sway Vicarage in the New Forest; and Cambridge, where he entered his nephew a gentleman commoner at Magdalen.

Dr. Davies, his scholarly host at Gateshead, had

"known Chalmers, and was present in the gallery of St. Andrew's Church on the day of the Disruption." At Caius, Leishman was entertained by Lawrence Lockhart.[34] Dining at Magdalene College, one of the fellows told Leishman an absurd story regarding the Archbishop of Canterbury.[35] When his Grace was journeying by coach, the driver, not recognising his distinguished passenger, freely "abused the Archbishop of Canterbury as a bloated pluralist and so forth, despite various significant hints from his indignant fellow travellers. Only discovering the truth when Dr. Sumner descended at the next stage, the coachman, anxious to apologise, ran after him, whip in hand, up the street." The Archbishop, "not knowing his object, and thinking it something different, ran too, and sought refuge in an open doorway."

In those days the parish clergy, north and south of the Tweed, particularly of the Evangelical School, had much in common, and were frequently connected by ties of blood, education, and friendship. After the marriage of his niece and ward to the Rector of King's Nympton in Devon, in 1852, Leishman's visits to the South became frequent, and closer contact with the Anglican clergy served to deepen his regard for the sister Establishment.

"At Copplestone," writes Leishman, giving his first impressions of King's Nympton, "we halted, and saw a cross which resembles very much the

[34] Author of *Fair to See* and other novels.

[35] John Bird Sumner (1848-1862). Wilberforce describes one of Sumner's speeches as "like himself good, gentle, loving, and weak." *Life* II. 248. He was the last Archbishop who wore a wig.

Collace one.[35] Here tradition says 'the Danes stopped when conveying to burial the body of some distinguished person.' The living of Kings Nympton was kept for Mr. Savile about twenty years, ten of these by his own uncle, one of the Wreys, now Rector of Tawstock. The Rector has, in right of his living, about one hundred and fifty acres of land. The Rectory dining-room is unusually large and lofty, the finest room in the Deanery. It was built about fifty years ago, when parsons were fox-hunters, for the accommodation of the Hunt. Mr. Savile said he was glad to state there were not now above five or six fox-hunters among all the clergy in Devon. The Rectory is situated near the church, as near as mine is to the village of Govan. The church[36] is old, and the lead-covered spire has a chime of five bells. The Chancel Screen, one of the finest I have ever seen, and evidently of great antiquity, is formed of beautifully carved oak. It is in excellent preservation. The roof, though much faded, has been beautifully decorated. The organ is in a very ruinous state. As a substitute there was a clarionet, a flute, and a violoncello. Sunday School morning and evening. This evening I heard the bell of the church tolling for a child who had just departed this life. This custom of the 'passing bell'

[35] Collace, in Perthshire, to which Exchequer living Thomas Leishman, his eldest son, had just been presented, 1st July, 1852, thanks to the good offices of Dr. William Muir. The Celtic Cross alluded to, then built into the vestry wall, has since disappeared.

[36] The church is dedicated to St. James the Apostle: within hangs a Pollard helmet. The Baronetcy of Pollard of King's Nympton dates from 1627. On that portion of the Rectory which Savile rebuilt is still visible his family crest.

has continued in the parish since the days of Popery."

"5th Sept., 1852. This was communion Sunday. Mr. Savile therefore had only prayers and the Communion Service in the forenoon. He preached in the afternoon a very good discourse on the call of Zacchæus." Whether Matthew Leishman knelt that day and received the Bread of Life from the hands of his host is not stated. Presumably he did, since Episcopal Confirmation was then generally accounted among Anglicans as more or less a domestic arrangement, while the Resolutions of the General Assembly of 1790, concerning the *Test Act*, implicitly sanction the practice of her people who "conscientiously communicate occasionally with the Church of England."[37] The modern scruple which would deny the Holy Sacrament to the Episcopally unconfirmed foreigner was little in evidence. Most travelled Scottish clergymen agreed with Principal Hill of St. Andrews, who deemed it "no hardship for Presbyterians of liberal and enlightened minds to partake of the Lord's Supper according to the mode sanctioned" by the Sister Church.

Leishman's description of the wedding possesses a quaint old-world flavour. "15th September, 1852. This day my niece Sophia Dykes was married to the Rev. Frederick Stewart Savile in Upton Church. We set off for the Church, the four bridesmaids in the britska, Mrs. Dykes, my wife and I in the barouche, last of all Mr. Dykes and the bride in the chariot. It fell to me to propose the health of the

[37] See *Acts of General Assembly*, 1790. *Hill's Life*, 276, and *Memorial Respecting the Test Act*, given in by Sir Henry Moncreiff.

happy couple, and to the Rev. Henry Wrey, Rector of Tawstock, who had baptized Savile, the toast of the bride's mother was entrusted. In a very humorous, rather too long speech, he said Mr. Fayle had spoiled one of the most promising old bachelors he ever knew. He remembered taking his nephew in his arms at the font and he presented him with a chain of gold. Previous to the departure of the bride, I was requested by the bridegroom to join them in prayer."

Savile when north of the Tweed, whether at Govan or elsewhere, almost invariably worshipped at the Parish Church. In this he did not stand alone. The Diocese of Exeter was then convulsed over the question of the validity of "Foreign Orders." and ringing with the echoes of the Gorham judgment, which in 1851 lost Manning to the Church of England. Among Leishman's papers is preserved a lengthy letter, addressed by his host's brother,[38] to Chancellor Harington—"openly contending for the recognition of the Church of Scotland as a sister branch of the Reformed Catholic Church."[39]

[38] Rev. Bourchier Wrey Savile, Vicar of Newport. *Exeter Gazette*, 15th Oct., 1851.

[39] This chiefly on the strength of the Anglican Canon of 1603, where the Church of Scotland, then undeniably Presbyterian, is named between two Episcopal Communions, and described as a portion of *Christ's Holy Catholic Church*. Harington's argument that Canon LV. was only meant to antedate the introduction of the Scottish Episcopacy seven years later is more ingenious than convincing. The Scottish Episcopal historian, Dr. Grub, seems to sum up fairly the facts of the case. "Much needless controversy has taken place regarding the meaning of this Canon, so far as applicable to the Church of Scotland. There can be no doubt that the framers of it meant to acknowledge the Northern Establishment as a Christian Church; and such was the opinion held by Bancroft and most of the English prelates, although they believed the Scottish system to be defective" in various points. *Ecc. Hist.* II. 282.

In May, 1855, Leishman's eldest son was promoted from Collace in Perthshire to what Robert Story, a native of the district, calls:—"our romantic and beautiful Linton." Here, where the old manse faces a spur of the sheep-clad Cheviots, Matthew Leishman, delighting in the scenery and antiquities of the Borderland, found a second home, whenever he could escape from his arduous toils at Govan.

Leishman was keenly interested in Archæology. It was a red-letter day when John Hannah, his *bedellus*, breaking ground for a grave on 7th December, 1855, unearthed, betwixt two ancient elms, the famous sarcophagus, reputed shrine of Govan's founder, St. Constantine, the companion of St. Columba and St. Kentigern. For the preservation of this venerable relic—finest of the Govan stones, a parochial collection almost unique in Scotland—Leishman secured "the erection of a little sanctuary in the corner of the churchyard."[40] In recognition of his pious care in this matter, he was elected an honorary member of the *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

The once despised Middle Party now found themselves on the top of the wave. Among the Edinburgh clergy, who remained in the Church, none was more influential than Dr. William Muir of St. Stephen's. Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, Clerk of the General Assembly, presided over the Home Mission; Dr. Craik over the Foreign; Dr. Fowler over the

[40] For Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok, Bart., was reserved the honour of restoring this relic to its rightful place within the chancel during the incumbency of the Rev. Roger S. Kirkpatrick, B.D., now of Yarrow. St. Constantine, K. and M., *circa* A.D. 576, was by tradition buried at Govan.

Colonial; and the name of Norman Macleod of the Barony was already widely known. "While the Moderates," writes a contemporary,[41] "have slidden down into the vaults, Dr. Matthew Leishman and his friends, old and new, have risen to the upper stories, and keep watch and ward over the highest interests of Zion. The world is full of strange vicissitudes. Dr. Leishman suddenly elevated to power and leadership in the 'Synod of Glasgow and Ayr,' once a high tower of Moderatism, is the same kind of revolution in a small way, as if Lamartine were to-morrow to be proclaimed chief Magistrate of France." A seal was set upon his labours on 28th May, 1857, when he received the following communication from Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton:—"At the stated meeting of old Moderators, met in secret conclave, at Dr. Grant's house in St. David Street, it was unanimously resolved, that the Rev. Dr. Matthew Leishman of Govan should be brought forward on the part of the old Moderators for the Chair of the General Assembly in 1858, in succession to Dr. James Robertson of the Endowment Scheme," who writes later:—"I can honestly say you are the very man I wished to have for my successor. You have always been a *doing* man, and it is *doing* men the Church requires."

In November, when the news was made public, congratulations poured in from all quarters. Dr. George Smith of the Tolbooth regrets "the honour has been so long delayed, seeing so many others, without a tithe of your claims, are advanced to the

[41] *North British Daily Mail*, 17th Oct., 1856.

dignity." Dr. M'Culloch congratulates Leishman on "the well merited but only too long deferred honour"; while Norman Macleod adds:—"I have often heard my father say you ought to be made Moderator, but he feared you might be kept out of the chair by the rump of the old Moderates."

During the sitting of the Supreme Court, Leishman's headquarters were at *Barrie's* in Queen Street. From dawn to dusk his steps were shadowed by the "Moderator's man,"[42] an invaluable factotum, whose services to successive occupants of the chair earned him the *sobriquet* of "Michael the Archangel."

One of Leishman's chief pleasures on elevation to the chair was the opportunity it afforded him of doing service to old friends and putting forward young men of talent. It was at his request that one of the preachers before the Commissioner, on the first Sunday, was William Milligan of Kilconquhar, afterwards the first President of the *Scottish Church Society*, and then on the eve of wedding the beautiful daughter of "Delta."[43] On the second Sunday the preachers were Archibald Watson of St. Matthew's, Glasgow, Norman Macleod's travelling companion in the East, and James Elder Cumming, one of the lesser lights of the Evangelical party. On an after occasion, Leishman records with satisfaction, "To-day, I got one of Paul's sons[44] appointed to preach before the Commissioner."

[42] Michael Anderson, Forres Street.

[43] Pseudonym of David Macbeth Moir in *Blackwood*.

[44] William Paul, a young and promising divine (*ob.* 1866), was minister at Whitekirk in East Lothian, the *Alba Ecclesia* of Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.).

Many pleasant glimpses Leishman's papers afford of old Assembly scenes and faces.

The Assembly business in 1858 included various features of interest. The question of Ritual reform was already occupying many minds, and that year heard the first mutterings of the tempest which arose over the Old Greyfriar's case. Proposals for a so called Presbyterian Union in Australia, on the motion of Dr. William Muir, were unanimously tabooed, the Assembly withholding its benediction from the scheme as tending to tamper with the Faith. Temperance: Popery: University Tests: a disputed settlement under Lord Aberdeen's Act: Foreign Missions, all came under discussion. At Kandy in Ceylon, George Washington Sprott heads the list of Scots Chaplains labouring abroad. From India Dr. Craik reports the "distressing massacre" of Mr. Hunter, his wife, and child, victims of the scarcely quelled Indian Mutiny, and the erection of a monument was decreed over their graves within the garden of the British Fort at Sialkot. Leishman's closing address forms "an able and exhaustive review of the leading points of the business before the Venerable Court,"[45] for in those days the set *ex cathedra* oration was not in vogue. Near the close, in addressing the clergy, he strikes a more personal note:—"Need I say to you that a certain portion of our time ought to be devoted to our own improvement. An unlearned clergy can never long retain a hold upon the public mind. Every department of science and literature is open to us, and

[45] *Scottish Record*, 2nd June, 1858.

ought to be made tributary to religion. But our favoured walk ought, beyond all doubt, to be sacred literature. If a man is not learned in his own profession, it matters little what may be his other acquirements. He need never expect to inspire others with confidence, or induce them to show deference to his views and opinions.

"True it is we have not the same facilities for digging deep into the wells, either of sacred or profane literature, which are possessed by members of the sister Establishment, by means of their stalls and fellowships. It may be that they have more men of mark among them on this account than we can pretend to; but with all the disadvantages connected with the smallness of our incomes, and the poverty of our institutions, we have men among us who, in regard to the extent, as well as the variety of their attainments, would do honour to any church with which they might be connected. The young ministers who hear me would do well to look to those bright and shining lights, so that they may have communicated to them some of their ardour, and be induced to follow them in their brilliant career.

"The laborious clerical student, however, ought to beware of spending in his study, or among his books, the time that ought to be devoted to the sick-room or to pastoral visitation. His love of learning may become a snare to him. For the same reason, he ought to beware of allowing employment of any kind to take the place of preparation for the pulpit; all that he does ought to converge to the same centre. He ought not to be occupied with his own,

but with his Father's business. He ought to cultivate the spirit which led the Apostle of the Gentiles to exclaim:—'*Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord.*'

"The Church of Scotland has recently passed through a period of severe trial. Some of us can never forget the warm sympathy, the powerful countenance, the zealous co-operation, we received at that time from our lay brethren. These gentlemen stood by us manfully, sharing the obloquy which was freely heaped upon their ministers because they had consciences and obeyed them. They favoured us with their counsel; they aided us with their substance; they procured strength from on High for us by their prayers."

The address lasted under forty minutes. Leishman rather prided himself on "never making long speeches," without, however, attempting to rival Ramsay of Kelso, whose valedictory address as Moderator in 1741,[46] was the shortest on record:—"It is with pleasure I can observe that the affairs of this Assembly have, by the good hand of God upon us, been managed with great decency and remarkable unanimity."

During his tenure of office Leishman entertained eight hundred guests to breakfast. He himself dined each evening at Holyrood with Her Majesty's Commissioner, Lord Mansfield. What Leishman calls "our brief reign" as Moderator, closed with an official dinner to which seventy guests were bidden.

[46] Moderator also in 1738.

The Scottish Bench, and Bar, were well represented, and the "Forty" much in evidence. The toast list was of formidable length, containing twenty-one items. The guests sat down at 6 P.M., and only rose after midnight. Resplendent with his badge of office as Dean of the Thistle, Dr. William Muir was there to respond for the *Church of Scotland*, proposed by Lord Curriehill. The health of the Moderator was given by Lord Neaves—wittiest of Scottish Judges.[47] Dr. MacCulloch of Greenock, notable as an educationalist, gave the *Scottish Universities*, replied to by the venerable Dr. Hill. Dr. Cook, the old moderate leader, gave the *Schemes of the Church*. Lawrence Lockhart told endless tales of the *Parishioners of Govan*, while Norman Macleod had a congenial theme in the *Manse*.

Upon his return to Govan, after a brief holiday at Linton in Teviotdale, Leishman came into residence at the New Manse. His entry was clouded by the death of Mrs. Boog, who on 15th June "came to the end of her long pilgrimage," at the age of ninety-five. She was buried by Matthew Leishman at Burntisland by the side of her husband, under the shadow of the old church which looks out across the bleak waters of the Northern sea towards Friesland, the cradle of his race. Almost to the last she loved to sing little French songs, and would daily repeat her *Pater Noster* with a strong French accent. Did any of her grandchildren sneeze, she would cry:—*Que Dieu te bénisse!* and invariably spoke with affection of

[47] His literary instincts and dry humour reappear in his grandson, John Hepburn Millar, LL.B., Professor of Constitutional Law and History in the University of Edinburgh.

the "good ladies"—the nuns of her convent days at Paris.

In 1860 Lawrence Lockhart resigned his living at Inchinnan, after succeeding to the family estate of Milton Lockhart. His departure was a great loss to Leishman, although to the end the "links of friendship's golden chain" were kept bright by letter. From Mentone, 13th Sept., 1862, Lockhart writes:—"You know our device of the 'locked heart.' My wife and daughters wear it on their shawls, and this has made them to be taken here for 'Sisters of the Sacred Heart.' The same emblem attracted a Belgian Minister of State who knew John. He had just been staying at Abbotsford with Scott." Lockhart, like Leishman, was a warm defender of the Orders of the Church of Scotland:—"On Sundays I read the Anglican service and preach old abbreviated Inchinnan sermons. You are no doubt aware that the Bishop of St. Andrews has published a pamphlet on the expediency of having *one* united Church for the three Kingdoms, and he proposes that the *lay orders of the Church of Scotland should be tolerated* during the life of the present Presbyterian Incumbents!!!! This is cool."[48]

Writing from "13 Via Gregoriano on Christmas Day, 1860:—At Rome we were disappointed at the non-appearance of the Pope,[49] who sometimes *really* has rose in his leg, and at other times finds it *convenient*

[48] As regards Home Re-Union, at least at the time of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, Dr. Wordsworth's position was that "in England" they could not afford to deal with Dissent *en masse*, but "should have dealt primarily or exclusively with the strongest case—the case of the Presbyterian Ministry." *Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth*, 364.

[49] Pio Nono.

to have it. The chair procession and silver trumpets were dispensed with in his absence. The music was very fine. I had a place near to the great Altar, where the officiating Cardinal presided. In the most solemn part of the service, the priests kneeling before the Altar exchanged snuff boxes, and even smiled and talked to each other. I had little Alexander with me; the priests laughed at his kilt and pushed him forward, even before the Pope's Guards, to let him have a good view of the spectacle. Two thousand French soldiers lined the Nave, and at the Elevation of the Host grounded their arms and knelt. We have seats in the English Chapel, but the Chaplain, though a clever man, is a dry dog. About three of his congregation go over to Rome every year. The Chaplain at Naples I discovered to be a cousin of my own, and quite of a different stamp. Fraser of Gourock holds a conventicle in his dining-room (feeling the way no doubt for a Free Kirk station here), but I have not darkened it except to return his call. I saw, in *Galignani* strange to say, that the Cardross case is revived, also that the Queen had been alarmed under a report that Norman Macleod was dead, and telegraphed to the Historian of Europe[50] on the subject. Give me all your Church news. I was glad to receive your account of Gillan.[51] I am sure when the Inchinnanites understand him they will appreciate him. I met a person in St. Peter's who told me he had preached a very clever sermon in November on Ananias and Sapphira.

[50] Sir Archibald Alison (1792–1867).

[51] Lockhart's successor at Inchinnan.

"You ought to come to Rome before you get older. Twenty years ago it would have enraptured me. As it is, though the heyday of life is over, I am much renovated by my travels, and especially by Rome."

North of the Tweed, alike in lay and in clerical circles about this period, a loud call arose for ritual reform. Even in the most solemn acts of religion the procedure was frequently so slipshod as to alienate many of the educated laity. The air was laden with "obstinate questionings." "Why," writes Sheriff Barclay of Perth,[52] "at the service of Ordination should the Presbytery meet beforehand in the manse by stealth, not in the vacant church? Why should they perform the solemn rite in so perfunctory a manner? Why should the youngest, not the oldest, preside? Why should not all the Presbyters wear gown and band—often they have no sign of their ministerial status? Why should the candidate not be set up on high, instead of kneeling out of sight in a dirty pew? Why should he not sign the Standards afterwards in public?" To Leishman, as Moderator, Sir John Heron Maxwell of Springkell addressed[53] an open letter, advocating amendment in the forms of Public Worship. "How large a number of influential families retired from the agitation of 1840–44 into the Episcopal Church, but let the Church of Scotland beware lest a larger exodus take place from her communion to that of the Church of England. By amending her worship, the Church will not only rally round her many who are now

[52] Letter to M. L., March, 1856. [53] 2nd Feb., 1859.

halting, but, she would be promoting what ought to be the end and aim of all ecclesiastical legislation, the glory of God and 'the establishment of religion and piety among us to all generations.'"

In matters of ritual, Leishman's attitude was essentially conservative. A lifelong advocate of simplicity in worship, he was on principle punctiliously loyal to the Standards. "What you say," writes Lawrence Lockhart[54] from Switzerland, "about the *simplicity* of our worship is quite true, but we are composite beings and we require all the influences that can be brought to bear to induce a right frame in the worship and service of God. Besides, what suits one age and its characteristics may not suit another and, now the wealtheir classes count on an English education for their families, depend upon it there will soon be a cry even for a Liturgy, and if we are to retain the rising and educated classes within the Presbyterian pale, we must ere long meet their wishes and taste in this respect. When I was last in the North, I was asked to join a Society[55] in Glasgow which had for its object to collect the various Liturgies and to meet, from time to time, to discuss their merits. Last Sunday Archie went to Carluke Church. Wylie was less misty than he expected and gave the people a long harangue upon the impropriety of keeping their hats on in church, notwithstanding the blessing had hardly been pronounced when on went the hats as before. I believe Mr. Stephen[56] of Renfrew has succeeded in

[54] L. L. to M. L., 16th Jan., 1866.

[55] The *Church Service Society*, founded at Glasgow, 31st January, 1865.

[56] An eloquent Aberdonian.

getting his people to stand at the Psalms and kneel at the Prayers."

While fully alive to the need of ritual reform, Leishman realised the necessity of caution, and acted on the principle of *festina lente*. When the *Church Service Society*, above alluded to by Lockhart, was founded at his very elbow by Lees, Story, and Campbell[57] of Eastwood, Leishman stood aloof, partly because it was a private venture, and he had a decided preference for marching in step, partly because the society was launched on what he considered non-catholic lines, above all, on account of its supposed connection with, "that most impracticable of all men," Dr. Robert Lee, whose *Reform of the Church of Scotland* had appeared in the previous year, 1864. Twenty years earlier Lee and Leishman had parted company over the *Declaration* of the "Forty." The truth is their standpoints were totally different. It is too often forgotten that Robert Lee, the would be reformer of the Church of Scotland, was not a native Scot, but, as Leishman points out, an Englishman, reared in English dissent till the age of eighteen, when he wrought with his father as a "boat builder at the mouth of the Tweed." To the last he probably never quite assimilated the *ethos* of the Scottish Church. Leishman acted always as "*a man set under authority*." Lee was a free lance, latitudinarian in doctrine, with little of the historic sense. Leishman was a fervid believer in the Presbyterate; Lee taught his students to deride Apostolical

[57] Afterwards one of the founders of the *Scottish Church Society*.

succession.[58] Lee, in short, might be styled in popular parlance a Broad-Church Ritualist. He "valued dogmatic freedom incomparably more than Ritual, his taste in matters Ecclesiological being exactly the reverse of Catholic." Innovation in Ritual at that day indicated, as a rule, "adherence to a certain school of theological thought."

On 29th May, 1862, "After the Debate on Innovations in the General Assembly," Leishman writes:—"I did not speak on Dr. Lee's motion yesterday, though prepared to do so, as I might have been tempted to say things one might have afterwards wished unsaid. Dr. Lee was very insolent and offensive, but sustained a defeat which he evidently was not prepared for." Later he adds:[59]—"If the modern rage for Innovations is to undermine our doctrine as well as alter our mode of worship, we may as well go in for Independency at once." Robert Lee, good man as he was, had a genius for rubbing people the wrong way, his advocacy in consequence prejudiced many against all ritual changes, and even set back the hands of the clock of ritual reform. It was on such grounds, apparently, that Leishman, and many others, fought shy of the movement. While distrusting the reformer, Leishman was not wholly averse to reform. His prayers, if not strictly liturgical, were rich in Scriptural phrase, carefully composed, and written out in full. When Principal Lee, the most learned Scotsman of

[58] We are indebted for this information to one of his students, the Rev. R. W. Weir, D.D. See also Art. by "A.K.H.B.," *The New Liturgics of the Scottish Kirk.* Blackwood. November 1890, 664-669.

[59] 7 Dec., 1866.

his day, moved in the Assembly of 1849 for the appointment of a committee on *Aids to Devotion*, to prepare, with the sanction of the Church, forms of service for the use of "soldiers, sailors, and colonists, sojourners in India, and others," Leishman gave the proposal his warmest support, and was largely instrumental in securing the Act of 1856, which ordained all ministers to read two lessons of Holy Scripture in Church, a practice which apart from the preaching of the Word had gone out with the Knoxian Readers. Though nominally framed only for those temporarily bereft of Church ordinances, the book prepared by the Committee on *Aids to Devotion*, mainly a compilation from Continental and Reformed Liturgies, did good service in breaking ground, and gave the Church an admirable Lectionary.[60] In his dislike of instrumental music, Leishman was in line with the Eastern Church; but, while he never introduced an organ into the Parish Church at Govan, he declined to oppose its use in his Maxwell Chapel.

In the use of Hymns he was equally conservative. Hymns, it must be remembered, were then unsanctioned[61] in the Church of Scotland, the first edition of the *Scottish Hymnal* not receiving its *imprimatur* till September, 1870, within four years of Leishman's death. The greater part of that period he was in non-residence, or laid aside by illness, and in no

[60] That this Committee has not outlived its usefulness is evidenced by the *Form and Order for the Celebration of Holy Communion*, issued during the late war.

[61] Save five, printed at the end of the Scots Paraphrases. Sanction however is implied by the Hymns appended to all the editions of Knox's *Book of Common Order*.

mood for radical changes. The answer has been fathered upon many, but we can vouch for it as heard from the lips of Leishman's old *bedellus* at Govan, in reply to the enquiry of a young licentiate: "Where is the Hymn Book?" "We have not yet quite done wi' the Psalms of David."

To-day, when an organ not infrequently monopolizes the place of the Holy Table and is sometimes so large and loud as to silence, not lead, the voice of the congregation; and when the tide of Christian hymnody, threatens in some quarters, to submerge Psalmist, Prophet, and Apostle, one feels that our grandfathers' objections to "human hymns," and "praising God by machinery," were not wholly without reason. Leishman and his allies had in any case the Church Standards at their back. His general attitude in all ritual matters may be summed up in the maxim, *state super vias antiquas.*[62]

That in the matter of ritual reform Matthew Leishman was by no means an implacable obscurantist may be deduced from the fact that when his son in 1868 took the field, and as co-partner with George Washington Sprott, gave the Church of Scotland their edition of the *Book of Common Order and Directory of Public Worship*, Matthew Leishman was warmly interested in its success, and supplied his son with books and tracts. Framed on constitutional lines this volume really served as a corrective, almost a counterblast, to Dr. Lee's *Reform of the Church of Scotland.*

When the so called *Sabbath War* broke out at

[62] Vulgate, Jer. vi. 16.

Glasgow in 1865, it was a grief to Leishman, as Moderator of Presbytery and Convener of the "Sabbath Observance Committee," to find himself in conflict with his old ally Norman Macleod. Letters exist to show that "Norman" was somewhat bitter on the subject. But Leishman, feeling like Gladstone, that "the Sabbath had almost served the purpose of an additional sacrament"[63] to the Scottish Nation, and dreading the day when Sabbath rites might "dwindle into unrespected forms," considered it no part of his province as a Presbyter, to give the laity a lead in the slackening of the Sabbatical bonds, hence he cast the weight of his influence into the Conservative scale.[64] The trend of after events seems rather to justify the wisdom of his attitude.

In the autumn of 1864, Leishman's journal describes a week's visit which he and his wife paid to Leslie House. His immediate errand was the ordination of his son-in-law,[65] who had received a presentation to the living of Leslie, from their hostess, the Countess of Rothes. In the drawing-room of her historic home, "built by a Duke of Rothes in the reign of Charles II.," Leishman was "shown a portrait of Norman Leslie, who slew Cardinal Beaton, also the ivory-handled dagger with which he was said to have done the deed. After the ordination ceremony, the Presbytery and their friends, in all about forty, dined in the Picture Gallery. The

[63] Calvin calls the Sabbath a Sacrament.

[64] See Gordon's *Life of Charteris*, p. 100.

[65] David W. Runciman, incumbent of Leslie in Fife (1864-1877), married Isabella, youngest daughter of Matthew Leishman.

Hon. Waldegrave Leslie presided, while Professor Mitchell of St. Andrews, with whom Mr. Waldegrave had travelled in the Holy Land, acted as croupier. We had some delicious venison, Her Majesty having sent a deer from Hampton Court. After dinner, the ladies seated behind a screen, heard the speeches." Rich in good works as in interesting reminiscences, the Countess bore her seventy-seven years lightly. "Every Sunday morning she teaches in the Sunday school; each evening we have prayers in the Hall. The Bible I used to-day was a magnificent quarto, a marriage present from her brother-in-law, the Hon. Samuel Waldegrave, Bishop of Carlisle, of whom she spoke with great affection and admiration. Referring to Prince Alfred, she told me that, when in Edinburgh, he always worshipped at St. Andrews Church, and frequently called on Mr. Stuart,[66] his former tutor. The prince was a great rattle and discussing one day the system of competitive examinations, said:—'Well, Mr. Stuart, if there were to be a competitive examination for the crown, there is a young friend of mine who I know would have precious little chance of getting it.'"

Among the younger clergy present at this ordination was Archibald Scott, minister of Abernethy-on-Tay, whom, six months later, Leishman secured for his newly opened church of Maxwell, thus placing his foot on the second step of that ladder of Ecclesiastical preferment, which ultimately left Scott leader of the General Assembly. Scott owed much to the Middle Party. He had been baptized and

[66] John Stuart, D.D., incumbent of St. Andrews (1857-88), Chaplain to Queen Victoria.

trained by one of the original "Forty," Mr. Park of Cadder; the mantle of another had fallen upon his shoulders at Abernethy-on-Tay; while he entered into the labours of a third, the venerable Dr. Glover at Greenside. For Leishman himself, Scott cherished a life-long regard.

In the spring of 1867, Matthew Leishman was laid aside by serious illness. Sixteenth incumbent of Govan since the Reformation, already he had outstripped all his predecessors in tenure of office. Even on his iron frame the burden of fifty-three years of arduous labour began to tell. "Gelid age, if not *pallida mors*," was knocking at his door, and in the autumn of 1870 he writes:—"My one desire is to live, and die, at peace with all the world." For long he had been liable to fainting fits, which attacked him with dangerous suddenness. Once, when playing a fish on Loch Laggan, he narrowly escaped drowning, his son at the oars just grasping him in time; once, when walking with the writer at Callander, on the day before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War; a third time while preaching for his son at Linton.[67] The long shadows were foretelling sunset and made him think of retirement. "Having served the cure of Govan for half a century," he writes to Principal Barclay, "I shall be excused for saying I think myself entitled, if not bound, at my advanced period of life, to have associated with me an assistant and successor."

Leishman found Govan an average country cure:

[67] 4th July, 1871.

he left it the richest living in the Church of Scotland. At any time during the last two decades of his incumbency, his income, had he chosen, might easily have been "increased by many hundreds a year." "A little oatmeal," writes a London Journal,[68] "is generally supposed to be the nutriment on which Scotch clergymen prepare their perfervid harangues, and good authorities tell us the average stipend of a Minister of the Church of Scotland is about £230 a year. But there are livings and livings; and one, just vacant, under somewhat exceptional circumstances, even an English Archdeacon need not despise." . . . Dr. Leishman of Govan "was the reverse of greedy; he did not *feu* half of his glebe; had he chosen, he might have made himself the wealthiest incumbent north of the Tweed." This is no more than true. Although Professor Veitch said of Leishman's offer for an assistant and successor, "in the whole course of my life I have never known a more generous proposal," the University did not think good to accept it, hence Leishman, withdrawing his offer, appointed two assistants, one in orders, and re-shouldered his burden. How heavy its weight may be realized from the following facts:—In March, 1869, Leishman records, that he has "two week-night Bible classes for young men and young women, about a hundred in attendance at each, also a Sunday evening class which three hundred boys and girls attend." On 27 March, 1872, he writes:—"There are two Sunday Schools in this parish. The attendance as a rule is

[68] *The Globe*, Aug., 1874. Art. *A Rich Scotch Living.*

SUNNYSIDE LODGE, NEAR LANARK

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very regular, at present our average is about 1,217." Christenings, burials, and weddings levied a heavy tax on his time and energy. The writer can recall seeing Matthew Leishman, in one summer evening, marry no less than thirty couples.[69] On "Christmas Day, 1866," Matthew Leishman writes to his youngest son, a rice merchant in Rangoon, "Govan is now the most populous parish in Scotland. Do you know how many proclamations of marriage there were here last Sunday? One hundred and thirty." His last visit to Edinburgh was made in May, 1872, to attend the meeting of ex-Moderators who nominated Dr. Gillan of Inchinnan, the ninth of the Middle Party to occupy the chair.

His last public appearance at Govan was at the opening of the Merryflats Poorhouse, early in 1872. He appeared, supported by his two assistants, "very weak, scarce able to stand," but his voice rang out clear and plain, and he offered up "a singularly appropriate prayer." Shortly after this he took up residence at Sunnyside, a small estate of fifty acres in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, which had come to him on the death of his brother Robert, in June, 1871. Carved out of the Hyndford Estates in 1694, and originally known as "Mouseholm," Sunnyside lies in a retired nook, a mile and a half below Lanark, at the point where Mouse water pours into Clyde. Here, in the heart of what Lithgow[70] calls the "*Paradice* of Scotland," Leishman spent his declining days. Within easy driving distance lay Milton Lockhart and the Manse of Carluke, but both Wylie

[69] In June, 1870.

[70] *Rare Adventures*, 430 (1628).

and Lockhart preceded him into the silent land. Leishman lived long enough to see the clergy bowed out of the Parish Schools by the Scots Education Act of 1872, and his last days were harassed by frequent consultations regarding the Patronage Abolition Act, destined to change the whole *ethos* of the Church of Scotland. This measure Leishman opposed, not merely as savouring in his view less of religion than of political *finesse*, but as likely to advance disestablishment by several decades, and to take away power from the Church Courts. He was known also to hold decided views as to the impropriety of competitive praying and preaching. Though unable to be present at any of the Assembly debates, Leishman was kept in close touch through his son, who was a member of Assembly and shared his father's sentiments. On Monday, May 24th, 1870, his son writes:—"This is the most important day at the Assembly, being the Debate on Patronage. Most people seem to be in a panic and think of the abolition of patronage as a foregone conclusion. The constitutional motion by Dr. Bisset was feeble and temporising, and by its feebleness probably lost more votes than it carried. Macleod and Sprott spoke very well, Runciman awkwardly, and was all but laughed down. The audience were rather intolerant, reminding one of the Non-Intrusion mobs before 1843 not a little. The division was strongly against us, 241 to 68. I think I was the first man who voted in the minority. Many hope that this will save the Church from disestablishment and bring back the dissenters. I fear it will but hasten the crash, to throw overboard, and, in this cowardly way,

that which hardly one man in ten does not own he would wish to keep. Our foes want union, no doubt, but only a bigger United Presbyterian body, after we are disendowed."

While ever ready to lend a helping hand to any good cause, Leishman never failed to move on Churchly lines. Almost to the last he kept his hand upon the helm and directed the pastoral work at Govan. Thus when the Chicago Evangelists were at work in Glasgow in the Spring of 1874, it was no doubt in full assurance of the approval of his absent chief that the Rev. Allan Pollok[71] wrote out to Sunnyside in one of his weekly reports (28th March):—"Although associating with the rest of the community in prayer meetings, we keep aloof from the Moody and Sankey movement, and a great many will wish before long that they had done the same. Our clergy are compromising themselves by the pre-eminence they assign to the proceedings of these unordained and unaccredited men who have no connection with any religious body. Doubtless they are free to do good like other Christians, but, why make all the religious zeal and life of Scotland hinge upon them?"

Leishman had now outlived almost all his compeers. In 1868 Sir George Sinclair died. Worn out by sickness and domestic affliction, a prey to "long attacks of mental depression and religious melancholia," having confessedly lost "faith or predilection for any denomination of Christians,

[71] Son of Principal Pollok of Princeton, Nova Scotia.

established or otherwise," in April, 1851, on what ground is not quite clear, he left the Church of Scotland. During the closing decade of his life, he lived a hermit existence at Thurso, attended by his devoted daughter Olivia, visiting the poor, the sick, and the aged, and applying with his own hands a patent medicine, "Sinclair's Salve," supposed to be a sovereign remedy for rheumatic complaints. His spare time was occupied in futile attempts to patch up a peace between the Free and United Presbyterian bodies, whose relations to each other he likens to the case of "rival banks or beehives."

Over Graham Gilbert the grave closed in June, 1866; Charles Watson followed that same summer. "'What mutations time brings!' None of the Professors under whom I studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh are now[72] alive, nor any of the resident landowners, nor any of the congregation who petitioned the College for my appointment to the vacant charge of Govan, nor any of the sixteen members of Presbytery who laid their hands on my head, at ordination." The inner circle of the "Forty" were gone, all save Bromfield. Their leader alone remained, "the last unfelled tree in a prostrate forest." From his deathbed, in accordance with the old and happily not yet extinct usage of his day, Leishman sought the prayers of the Church. The time-worn formula ran:—"*The prayers of the Church are requested for*"—an old disciple—"*seemingly near to death.*" The end of this long

[72] 2nd March, 1871.

and busy life of zealous devotion to Christ's cause, and Christ's Church, "came on the evening of Saturday, the 8th of August, 1874." It was the morrow of the day on which the Royal Assent was given to the "Abolition of Church Patronage" in Scotland.[73]

"All the strong lines which disease and care had made were smoothed away and a grander old face than his, when we took our last look, I have never seen."[74]

On Friday, August 14th, as the funeral procession left Sunnyside, and wound its way round by Cartland Crags,[75] and the braes of Nemphlar,[76]

> "It was as sweet an Autumn day
> As ever shone on Clyde":

only at Govan, as his coffin passed out from under the solemn shade of the double avenue of "reverend elms," planted by his own hand, and reached the church porch, a few great drops fell. For Govan, Leishman's death meant the removal of an ancient landmark, the severance of a link connecting the "teeming and busy burgh of the present, with the quiet and rural life of last century." In the burgh all the shops were closed and business suspended at the funeral hour, by order of the Magistrates, who

[73] Govan was the first living to fall vacant after the passage of the Act.

[74] His eldest son's diary.

[75] A traditional haunt of Wallace.

[76] Not far from Sunnyside, is a Roman bridge over the Mouse water, also a wayside well traditionally dedicated to the Apostle of Ireland. Among Leishman's papers is a receipt, dated 1st March, 1863, for—"costs of legal inquiry into the right to use the water of St. Patrick's well." The Hymn of St. Fiacc gives "Nemthur" as the birthplace of St. Patrick. May this place-name not represent the ancient hamlet of Nemphlar? Cf. *Scot. Ecc. Soc. Trans.* October, 1911 and April, 1921.

attended officially, in their robes of office. One recalls the sea of faces in the churchyard.

Within the church, Divine Service was performed by the Moderator of the Presbytery of Glasgow and the venerable Dr. Jamieson[77] of St. Paul's. But no figure lingers more clearly in memory than that of Leishman's old Highland *Precentor*,[78] in the *Lettern*. Many eyes were dim as he sang, with tears streaming down his face, Logan's familiar lines:—

> "Take comfort, Christians, when your friends
> in Jesus fall asleep;
> Their better being never ends:
> why then dejected weep?"[79]

Thus, among the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, they laid the old Shepherd to rest

Donec aspiret Dies, et inclinentur umbrae.[80]

* * * * * * *

Three weeks later the grave reopened to receive the wife of his youth. Only a month before had they kept their golden wedding. "*In their death they were not divided.*"[81]

[77] An excellent archæologist, Moderator of the General Assembly in 1872.

[78] Macalister, teacher of music in Govan. "Lettern," *Scotice* for Lectern: the *Precentor* being a survival from the days of the Knoxian "Reader."

[79] Paraphrase of I. Thess. iv. 13.

[80] *Song of Songs* ii. 17. Vulgate version.

[81] Words graven on Matthew Leishman's tomb.

GOVAN CHURCH

1774

CHAPTER VI

Personalia: Retrospect and Forecast. 1874

"A true chip of the old Presbyterian block."
Scott.

IN personal appearance Matthew Leishman was tall and of commanding presence. His parishioners used to boast that he was "the handsomest man who ever sat in the Moderator's chair." He was certainly strikingly handsome, even as we knew him in the "autumn of a form once fine."[1] The wax medallion by Joachim Smith,[2] a disciple of his friend James Tassie the cameoist, dates from about the time of his leadership of the "Forty." To the scissors of August Edouart, the French silhouettist, we owe a characteristic outline which depicts him in the clerical dress of the day. This was taken at Edinburgh, on 15th February, 1831, when the artist was in attendance upon the exiled Royal family of France, then resident at Holyrood.

In the summer of 1859, Leishman was asked to sit for his portrait. Most successful as a rule with female subjects, Graham Gilbert had painted, in his day, "a perfect harem of Greek and Turkish ladies," but his portrait of the incumbent of Govan, a

[1] Euripides. Cf. Plutarch's *Alcibiades*, 1.

[2] Modeller of portrait medallions issued by Josiah Wedgwood.

veritable labour of love, was admittedly a masterpiece. Artist and sitter were near neighbours and life-long friends, the laird of Yorkhill being also proprietor of Govan Ferry. As a regular worshipper at Govan Church and a frequent guest at the manse, Graham Gilbert knew by heart every line in Leishman's mobile face, and the result was a singularly successful portrait. Hung alongside one of Graham Gilbert's "Greek girls," at the Scottish Academy in 1860, it was one of the pictures of the year: albeit, an art critic of the day professes himself "shocked to find the Moderator in such light company." To the few now living who remember Matthew Leishman, it certainly conveys a vivid impression of his face and presence as seen week by week in the sanctuary. Especially skilful is Graham Gilbert's treatment of the hands. Early in his married life Leishman's left hand was severely scorched, while rescuing one of his children from a blazing cot. Ever after his third finger remained slightly crooked, and the artist painted the presbyter of Govan, Psalm Book in hand, so concealing the sinew that shrank. The child, thus plucked, like Wesley, "a brand from the burning," afterwards filled with distinction a Medical Chair at Glasgow.[3]

When celebrating Divine Service Leishman invariably wore a Geneva gown and band, with black

[3] William Leishman, M.D., Regius Professor of Midwifery in the University of Glasgow, 1868-1893. His *System of Midwifery*, ran into four or five editions. The medical tradition in his family is sustained by his son, Sir William Boog Leishman, K.C.M.G., K.H.P., Director of Pathology at the War Office.

kid gloves, and, during the earlier portion of his ministry, a wig. One Sunday morning, to the almost shocked surprise of his parishioners, his prematurely bald cranium appeared in the pulpit wigless—his *toupet* having floated away on Saturday evening while its owner was swimming in the Clyde. He walked through his parish, or rode, after the fashion of the day, in buckled shoon, a dress coat, and tall silk hat.

Leishman, like Archdeacon Paley, might have been depicted with a fishing rod in his hand, for he was a keen angler. When visiting his son in Teviotdale many a golden hour was spent by the waterside, drinking in the "mountain melody" of Kale, and he could fill his basket on reaches of the river where other fishers could scarce raise a fin. The most tempting invitation fell on deaf ears, if "the wind was in the west." "A quiet stroll for trout along a river not too much frequented is," he used to say, "my idea of Elysium." He was a good horseman, an excellent man of business, and played passing well upon the flute. If seldom found without a law case on his hands, he rarely appeared in Court save as champion of the poor and needy, or in defence of some church right. Legal experts have been heard to describe him as "a good lawyer spoilt," for he never lost a case. He certainly had a rare gift of managing men, his great physical strength and commanding presence being no drawback. On a certain Sunday afternoon,[4] when two noted prize

[4] 9th Aug., 1862.

fighters visited Govan, half the roughs of Glasgow at their heels, and proceeded to business on one of the Glebe fields, a righteously indignant figure in full canonicals, strode into the ring, and after rebuking the crowd for their desecration of God's day and threatening the leaders with a Sheriff's Warrant, ordered them all off the ground, and they went—like lambs. In common with many of the older Scottish clergy, Leishman had a rich fund of humorous anecdote. He cherished a warm admiration for Dean Ramsay, whose acquaintance he made at dinner at Lord Belhaven's. Among his pet economies was a respect for string. He could not see a parcel opened without the caution—"never cut a knot if you can untie it," a principle on which he may be said to have acted when dealing with the tangled cords of the Secession. For tobacco, as creating an unnatural thirst, he had a strong dislike. "The cigar shop and the snuff mull," he used to say, "lead to the wine cellar." In Leishman's younger days Laurence Sterne, the clerical sentimentalist, was much read and quoted. Upon one occasion, having captured a fly upon the window pane, Leishman stood, fly in hand, with Uncle Toby's humane valediction on his lips, "Go, get thee gone! Why should I hurt thee? This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me."[5] Unhappily for the fly, the sash jammed, and after three futile attempts to complete his quotation, Leishman's slender stock of patience gave out, and the hapless insect ended its existence in the grate.

[5] *Tristram Shandy*, II. 12.

It was probably David Laing, the well-known bibliophile who first imbued Leishman with a love of archæology. When his retirement was mooted, Laing at once wrote urging Leishman to resume his literary work, and issue a second edition of Hew Binning. But Leishman writes[6] in reply that there is now no market for such goods, and that he had already disposed of the copyright of Binning to an American publisher.

Fond of delving into the past, the unearthing and study of old Church records formed one of his favourite recreations. Such a taste was then rare. Too often Church records, like the ancient sanctuaries themselves, perished from sheer neglect. Safes were luxuries as yet unknown. All the *Acts* of the first General Assemblies vanished in the great fire at the House of Commons in 1834, and Parochial records north of the Tweed fared badly. Left in the hands of session clerks, sometimes illiterate; mildewed with damp; nibbled by mice or by the "greedy tooth" of time; lent or given away to the village antiquary; even cast into the fire as useless—but for the much resented intervention of the State under the new Registration Act of 1854, few Church records would have survived.

The formation of the *Maitland Club*, in Glasgow, in 1828, for the purpose of printing manuscript works illustrative of Scottish History, Literature and Antiquities, did something to mend matters. As a member of council Leishman came into touch with

[6] M. L. to D. L., 29th Oct., 1867.

Andrew Skene, the author of *Celtic Scotland*, Tytler the historian, and Thomas Thomson the Deputy Clerk Registrar for Scotland, "formidable in dignity and antiquarian learning."[7] The Club in those early days was rather a close corporation, election being by ballot, and upon its roll stood the names of only three other clergymen, Principal MacFarlane of Glasgow, William Fleming, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Lawrence Lockhart.

One well read in Govan annals pays tribute to Leishman's care in research:—"I never consult any of his writings, and I have had to consult them often, without being increasingly impressed by the thoroughness and accuracy of all his work. He had the very temper of an historian. He always went back to the original sources in forming his opinions."

In editing Wodrow's *Analecta*, apart from the intimate knowledge gained of events and opinions in the 18th century—a period in which Leishman ever afterwards moved with a sure foot—the reading of Wodrow's "cramped and minute hand" made him a *deacon* in the craft of decipherment. To the end of his life he was constantly found dabbling in ancient MSS. Among the more interesting and valuable of these was the earliest volume of the Kirk Session records of Glasgow. "I made an abbreviate of them," says Leishman, "many years ago, for my own use, and am well acquainted with their value. They date from 1583, only a few years after the death of Knox, while Andrew Melville was

[7] Cockburn's *Memorials*, 246.

still living. Principal Smeaton was Minister of Govan, and Moderator of the General Assembly. . . . The *Maitland Club*, of which I am now one of the oldest members, are willing to print these ancient Memorials, or some important extracts. Should my health permit, I have undertaken, with the aid of a committee of the Club, to edit this work, which is intended to be the last of their publications; the Club being now on the eve of dissolution." The laudable project of publication was unhappily frustrated by Leishman's illness and death, and the document still remains in MS. with his pencilled waymarks on the margin. One of the oldest Presbytery Records in Scotland, penned by some now forgotten 16th century scribe on the beautiful vellum of a disused Pre-reformation Service Book, it is enveloped in a fragment of an old monkish manuscript of *Meditations on the life of Jesus Christ our Saviour.* Little did "Ludolph the Carthusian" foresee to what uses his pious meditations would be put! The after history of this volume, its loss and recovery, have a flavour of romance. Lent, for transcription, by Leishman to a Glasgow lawyer in 1870, it was found on the latter's death to have been bequeathed to the "Society of Procurators" in Glasgow. For forty years and more it slumbered in their library, until, in preparation for this volume, the present writer stumbled upon the certificate of loan which secured its return to the Church of Scotland.[8]

[8] See *Benefice Register and Church Records*, General Assembly Reports 1919, 773–774.

Leishman's papers supply other examples of the low level at which antiquarian knowledge then stood, and of the manner in which church property went astray. On Watson's retirement in 1827 from the charge of Burntisland, the Church properties were handed over to his successor intact. The Rev. John Wallace, however, on promotion to Hawick in 1833, carried off as a souvenir one of the ancient alms dishes, apparently with the full knowledge and consent of the Kirk Session. When taxed with its possession he wrote, 24th February, 1845:—"I am somewhat surprised, and not a little amused, with the vast importance attached to so little a matter as the antique brass plate. As a memorial of my connection with the place, I looked upon it with a feeling of some interest, though its intrinsic value be somewhat equivalent to a button without an eye, or a new brass farthing." Happily the Town Council included some members more fully awake to the value of this ancient relic, who procured its restoration.

Such antiquarian pursuits were but interludes in a busy life. Dr. Leishman was essentially a working minister. His letter book reveals a strange medley of correspondents:—A convict at Dartmoor, who began his career by robbing the Manse cellar at Govan; a young clergyman at Tobago, who draws a dark picture of West Indian morals, and seeks advice as to what attitude he should adopt towards the planters, among whom "concubinage is very extensively indulged in without shame"; a London Vicar, who solicits his influence to secure him a Doctorate

from Glasgow College, adding, "I can get one at Cambridge for £100, but it seems too much"; and the Dean of Westminster, Richard Chenevix Trench, who urges him, as Moderator, to become a member of the *Marriage Law Defence Association*, a request with which Leishman readily complied.[9] Most illuminative is a small bundle of letters labelled —"From persons in humble life." Some request his prayers, others testify to "benefits received" from his "invaluable counsels" and "spiritual instructions." A Glasgow working man, after reading his speech in the *Herald*, encloses a pound towards "your noble effort for Church extension," and adds—"Would that every parish minister would do the same." "Reverend Sir," writes a former catechumen, "never shall I forget, while memory holds her place, the sweet instructions and fatherly advices I received, for which I shall ever feel grateful. Go on in the strength of your Redeemer, and He will reward you tenfold, giving you souls for your hire. O my dear Minister, pray God for me." Clearly many of his flock regarded Matthew Leishman as a veritable Father in God, what, in the early Celtic Church, was known as a *soul-friend.*

As leader of the Middle Party, Matthew Leishman merits a permanent place in our ecclesiastical annals. Enough has been said to prove the men of that party no mere tidewaiters. Their influence, as we have seen, both before and after the Secession, was

[9] In this matter Leishman was keenly interested. After a visit to Gretna Green he writes to his son in September, 1851, "Last year there were about 400 weddings, no ceremony required, the parties being merely required to acknowledge each other as husband and wife."

deep and far reaching. If the "Forty" Movement appear to the superficial observer but a surface ripple, beneath lay a bed rock of solid Church principle. For two things in especial they stood:—National Religion enshrined in a National Church; and the Presbyterate as the divine order—"the very turning point of Presbytery, as distinguished from Independency" being, they maintained, that "while the Christian people have privileges, yet these are all enjoyed under the control and superintendence of the office-bearers in the Church. But our seceding brethren would let the people loose from this control—a liberty which Christ does not allow in His Church; which those acting under Him have no right to grant, and the permitting of which, without His authority, becomes licentiousness."[10] It is clear that in the eyes of the "Forty" the primary objection to the policy of the out-going party—indeed "the very head and front of their offending"—was, that under colour of preserving the "Crown Rights of the Redeemer," they had in reality removed the Crown from where our Lord left it—with the Ministry, and placed it in the hands of the *Sacra Plebs*, if not on the head of King Demos. That the Christian people had rights they did not dispute for a moment, but "let their grievances be stated, and, if grievances they are, they will not fail to be redressed" in a constitutional manner. "If a battle must be fought for the rights and privileges of the Christian people of the land,

[10] *A word for that section in the Church who took up what may be called a Medium Position*, 2.

that battle will be fought more successfully *within* than *without* the walls of the Establishment. Every person who forsakes the Church, because not so perfect as he wishes, only rivets more firmly the imperfection he deplores."[11] The Middle Party were certainly Presbyterians in the honest historical sense of that much mis-used term, so often "wounded in the house of its friends."[12]

Equally insistent were the Middle Party upon the duty of preserving unbroken the National Church. Looking backward, Leishman never ceased to "deplore the Secession as a lamentable event" for Church and Nation. Dr. Chalmer's contention that "the principles on which schism is denounced would have prevented the Reformation," did not disturb Leishman, the cases of 1560 and 1843 being in his view by no means parallel. "Schism," says he, speaking twenty years after the event, "which sets up altar against altar, and claims ecclesiastical authority in the same sphere, is wrong."

According to Æneas Sylvius, "Nothing pleases the Scots more than abuse of the English," and no taunt was more often cast at the inner circle of the "Forty" than that of being Prelatists, apers of Episcopacy, even Jesuits in disguise. "There is a third section," writes an obscure pamphleteer of the day,[13] "but not a numerous one, who make high pretentions to spirituality; but it is of an unhealthy, sentimental caste united with lordly notions of Church power

[11] *A word on the Church Question*, 1843, by Johnston of Old Monkland, a prominent member of the "Forty."

[12] *Cf. Re-Union: the necessary Requirements of the Church of Scotland*, 1909, p. 52.

[13] *The Wheat and the Chaff gathered into bundles*, 13.

and authority, far more befitting the mitre and lawn of the prelate than the plain Genevan gown and cap of a simple Presbyterian minister." The same charge lodged in almost identical language, against the "Scottish Church Society" at its inception in 1892 (a movement in some ways presenting a curious historical parallel) was, in both cases, palpably, almost grotesquely, unjust. However ready the higher spirits of the *via media* movement may have been, like many educated Presbyterians of to-day, to keep an open mind as to "whether a modified form of Episcopacy might not be grafted with advantage upon the Presbyterian system,"[14] they were all keen Scotsmen and probably the last thing they wanted was to see the Church of Scotland a "pendicle of York."[15]

While strongly believing in the Presbyterate as the radical order in the Christian ministry, Leishman had no aversion to Episcopacy as an ancient mode of marshalling church officers and he made it a point of principle to support the sister Establishment. The following extract from a letter, written in 1855, to "a brother clergyman" who sought advice as to the wisdom of sending his daughter to an Episcopal Seminary, is characteristic:—"I sent my own daughter to an Episcopal School in London. The church they attend is that of Mr. Vincent,[16] a decidedly evangelical clergyman; my daughter not only attended church with his family, but likewise

[14] *Day of the Ordeal*, 136. W. P. Paterson, D.D.

[15] Baillie.

[16] Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Gough Square, that classic region where Johnson lived and wrote great part of his *Dictionary*.

his class for young ladies during the whole time she was in London, and she has no Puseyite leanings." To the same daughter, meditating attendance at a neighbouring chapel after her marriage to an Irish Presbyterian, Leishman writes:—"Why go, even occasionally, to a place of worship where your religious views will be openly condemned and your feelings hurt? Better for you, when not convenient to go to Dr. Cumming,[17] to avail yourself of the ministrations of an evangelical minister of the Church of England. There are many ministers in the Church of England whom I know, who preach the very same doctrine you have been accustomed to hear at home, and when this is the case, although strongly attached to our own mode of worship, I consider that to be of comparatively small importance. I do not think the less, you may believe, of Mr. M—— that he is, what I hope his wife is, a staunch Presbyterian; but many, I must tell you, call themselves Presbyterians in England who are, both ministers and people, very unsound in the faith, being neither more nor less than Arians and Socinians.[18] But may the God of your fathers bless you both, and, wherever you go to worship, keep you members of the Body of Christ."

To his niece, in 1872, when going to school in the South, Leishman writes:—"You will be expected to go on Sundays, I have no doubt, to an Episcopal Church. Your father and mother, I feel sure, would

[17] Scots National Church in Crown Court.

[18] Recalling Newman's stricture, written apparently in 1844, "Had I been born an English Presbyterian, perhaps I should never have known our Lord's divinity." *Apologia*, 341.

not object to this, as little should I; it is what I usually do myself when I am in England." At Govan, as in many other Scottish Parish Churches at that period, it was customary to pray for "Thy Holy Catholick or Universal Church and in especial for those ancient branches of the true Vine which Thou hast established in these Islands."

Strong Churchman as he was, Leishman's attitude towards Dissent was tolerant and conciliatory. South of the Tweed the Non-conformist body which he seems to have regarded with the most friendly eyes was that of the Wesleyan Methodists, a preference apparently based partly on their excellence in preaching, but still more on the ground that "the Wesleyans disclaim any hostile feeling towards the Established Kirk as such," and he preserves a remark which fell from the lips of the president of the Wesleyan Conference in 1843:— "We are aware that there is a numerous and powerful body of holy and faithful men to be found in the ranks of the National Church." On the same footing, Dr. William Muir, when in London, went occasionally to Wesleyan Chapels, declining, however, to receive the Sacrament. This in so strict a Presbyterian one can readily understand, the Wesleyan position in the matter of Orders being historically indistinguishable from Independency.[19]

[19] See *Historical Memorandum on the Doctrine, Law and Practice of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in reference to Ordination.* Church of Scotland General Assembly Reports, May, 1910. The late Dr. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, after perusal, wrote to the author:— "Some time ago, I was much troubled to find how thoroughly confused Wesley's Theory of Baptism was, and I am not surprised to find that Ordination was to him as vague." Letter *penes me*, 21st May, 1911.

Leishman had many friends and kinsfolk in other communions. His father, though baptized in the Church of Scotland and dying within her pale, for a time in early manhood attached himself to the "Relief" body, nicknamed the "Scottish Methodists." Its members, auxiliaries rather than opponents, long retained a strong feeling of attachment to the Mother Church, not ceasing to frequent her altars. Dissent having, in Matthew Leishman's view, arisen not infrequently from failure of duty on the part of the Church, his remedy was increased pastoral fidelity:—"Estrangement from the National Church may be attributed to different causes; but whatever these causes may be, or whatever may be the nature of the dissent that prevails in particular quarters, it becomes every minister to consider how far he may be chargeable with it, and what he may do to bring back to the fold those who have wandered from it. Having this in view, he will do well to remember the words of his Divine Master:—'*Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*' It will not do for a minister to say that his parishioners, are so prejudiced against him, or so bigoted, it is vain to make any attempt to enlighten or reclaim them. This is the old excuse of the slothful man who says:—'*There is a lion in the way.*' It is an exemplification of the words of our Saviour:—'*He that is an hireling and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.*' Many a minister has outlived the strongest prejudices

against him. Nothing disarms hostility more effectually than kindness and forbearance. The best sermon a minister can preach is a holy life. Ministers, however, ought to be at all times more anxious to make converts than to gain proselytes. Their great aim ought to be to win souls to Christ.

"It may be that dissent in a parish is caused by the dissolute conduct of a minister. Ever since the days of Eli there have been among those who served at the altar, men who made themselves vile. Is it to be wondered at that the people of a parish should withdraw from the ministry of such men? They are not only a disgrace to their sacred profession, but a living reproach to religion. They give occasion to the enemies of the Lord to rejoice, and to the adversary to speak reproachfully. A profligate clergyman has not only driven many a man from the sanctuary, but driven him into infidelity. Can anything be conceived to be more revolting, a greater insult to a congregation, a more impious mockery of the Almighty, than for a sensualist, under the cloak of a sacred character, to enter the House of God on the Sabbath-day, to ascend the pulpit, and to address himself to those who know him as a teacher of religion and morality? How is the flock to be gathered together which has been scattered by the faithlessness and immoralities of such a shepherd? By taking from him his pastoral staff—by stripping him of his sheep's clothing—by giving his bishopric to another."[20]

[20] Closing address to General Assembly, 27th May, 1858.

Cherishing lofty views of the clerical calling, Leishman was of necessity a stern disciplinarian. "You may think my notions of what ought to be a clergyman's honour, too high for this vulgar world, if not somewhat Quixotic, but a clergyman's character, remember, is as delicate as a young girl's."[21]

Christened on the "Feast of S. Athanase,"[22] and ordained at a period of credal calm and theological composure, Leishman had the reputation throughout life of being "unquestionably orthodox." In common with the majority of his generation, he was content to occupy the outworks of Christian belief as represented by the Westminster standards. The enemy was there, but as yet in ambush. Had our grandsires foreseen a day when the assaults of modern thought might seriously threaten the "high fortress of Presbyterian doctrine," they would have retired earlier within the citadel of the Catholic Creeds. Not long before his death, when speaking of views already asserting themselves "among those who had gone out," he was heard to say:—"What a complete vindication they are of those of us who would not quit the old ground of the Evangelical party." On his last visit to the General Assembly he begged his son to change his seat, as it vexed him to see him sitting upon the Moderate benches.[23] Nowadays, he was told, these old distinctions were as dead as Queen Anne, and men sat anywhere, their

[21] M. L. to his son, 1858.

[22] So we gather from a Gallican Calendar brought home by Leishman from Paris in 1818.

[23] *i.e.*, on the Moderator's right hand.

minds occupied with questions doctrinal and historical rather than governmental.[24]

In his earliest volume Leishman draws attention to the fact that from the Reformation downwards, "all the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland made use of the Christian forms, of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Doxology" (itself a species of Creed), "until Oliver's army invaded Scotland. . . . Upon this such of the Presbyterians as would recommend themselves to the Usurper, and such as had his ear, forbore those forms in the public worship, and gradually they fell into desuetude."[25] In Leishman's household, children and servants were expected each Sunday afternoon to repeat the Westminster Shorter Catechism, of which the Creed forms part wherever that document is printed without mutilation; while a silver crown piece was in store for any one of his forty grandchildren who could repeat our Church Catechism without a mistake. It was under the roof of Govan Manse, from the lips of his grandmother, that the writer first learned the "brief sum of the Christian faith, agreeable to the Word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ."[26]

[24] During Leishman's last summer Robertson Smith made his contract with Adam Black for the articles *Angel* and *Bible* which, theologically, set the heather on fire.

[25] *Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* (1692), 45, quoted Binning, XIV.

[26] Prepared originally as a preface, the fact is too often overlooked that it was in the teeth of Presbyterian opposition, and mainly to gratify Philip Nye, a "red-hot Independent," that the Creed at the eleventh hour, was transferred to the end of the Catechism. For its exclusion from the Catechism only two votes were recorded, those of Reynor and Nye. Nye was the *bête noire* of the Scots Commissioners. George Gillespie likens him to Sanballat, or the "heathen writers who stirred up the pagan Emperors against the Christians." Rutherford's credal position, no doubt endorsed by Leishman, is well known. He speaks of "the Apostles', Nicene, and Creed of Saint Athanase," as "things which every Christian ought to believe."

SIR DANIEL MACNEE PINXIT, 1870

JANE ELISABETH LEISHMAN

Facing page 234

Christian Re-Union was a question then almost necessarily in abeyance. The root of bitterness, contention and strife, implanted in 1843, speedily overspread the land. Scottish dissent, unconsciously playing into the hands of the Tractarians, revived the unlovely and fast fading fashion of railing at the sister Establishment, and the two national churches, with so many interests and duties in common, drifted further apart, probably, than in any generation since the Reformation, while popery and infidelity flourished apace. Christian Unity was a conception then almost foreign to the Scottish mind, a doctrine dead and buried. Here and there, however, voices were heard in the night, praying for the peace of Jerusalem, among them, those of Lockhart and Leishman. "Nothing would delight me more," writes Lawrence Lockhart in 1853, "than to see, *on honourable terms*, an amalgamation of two Communions which, notwithstanding the immediate, and through the corruption of human nature, inevitable results of their separation, have at this moment, under a very thin veil, more in common than perhaps any two other sections of the Christian Church. Alas! that Christ should have been so often, and so grievously wounded in the house of His friends, and that His seamless garment should have been torn in pieces by reckless hands." "How re-union is to be brought about," writes Leishman, two decades later, "it is not easy to say, but I cannot help thinking that under the over-ruling Providence of God, and the healing hand of time, at no distant date, the two dislocated portions of what was once a vigorous and useful

Church, will yet be united." These words, written in 1872, only two years before Leishman's death, occur in a letter to his friend Abercromby Gordon, now settled in London, in which he recalls their argument with Mr. Gladstone on Apostolical Succession.

If Leishman and Lockhart were at one in regard to the need and duty of Christian re-union, it is equally certain that they were not prepared to welcome peace at any cost. The day for formulating set terms of re-union had not yet dawned, but nothing perhaps could better illustrate their general attitude, or indeed that of the whole Church, than the discussion which occurred in the General Assembly of 1858, touching proposals then in contemplation for a so-called Presbyterian Union in Australia.

Leishman, being in the chair, had no voice in the debate, if debate it could be called, where all were unanimous in "unfeigned satisfaction" that the proposed union had been "virtually abandoned," on the ground that the terms were unsatisfactory, as being inconsistent with the doctrine and government of the Church as embedded in the Confession of Faith, and other standards.[27] The report in question was tabled by Dr. Fowler of Ratho, Convener of the Colonial Committee, one of the original "Forty." Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, who moved its adoption, "congratulated the house that the recent events in Australia had terminated well. . . . Union among Christians was a good

[27] The Free Church apparently approved of the terms of Union.

thing, and they should earnestly desire unity and peace, but, they knew on the highest authority that the 'wisdom that was from above was *first pure*,' and therefore there was an important risk that, in the attempt to bring about what was called evangelical union, their Colonial brethren might have been tempted to sacrifice peculiar principles which ought not to be sacrificed. In regard to union, which was sometimes talked of in such high language, he was thoroughly persuaded that there might be the union of love and charity amidst circumstantial variety. The boasted union of the Church of Rome was no union at all. Let Romanists expatiate as they would against evangelical Christians being divided into so many different sects, yet they were agreed on the great, fundamental, and Evangelical points of doctrine and practice in which salvation was involved. He rejoiced, therefore, to see that the attempt to bring about an apparent union at the sacrifice of peculiar principles had terminated in the way it had."

Apart from his leadership of the Middle Party, Matthew Leishman merits remembrance as an indefatigable toiler in the field of Church Extension. "Strong Churchman as he was, he did not look with jealousy on any schemes for the expansion of the old ecclesiastical machinery. To that end indeed his time, his talents, his influence and his substance[28] were ungrudgingly devoted" for half a century. Possessed of "tireless energy, keen insight into character, and a happy combination of firmness and

[28] A Memorandum, covering the period 1843–1867 reveals a personal expenditure of six thousand pounds on Church Extension.

self-command, he rarely failed in bringing his plans to a successful issue."

No memorial other than a modest tombstone commemorates the Ministry of Matthew Leishman at Govan—but fourteen Churches,[29] built during his reign, still summon the toiling multitude to prayer and Sacrament. "Long may they stand as monuments to his zeal for the honour of his Master and the good of souls."[30]

[29] Since 1821, no less than 32 parishes (*quoad sacra*) have been carved out of the old Ecclesiastical parish of Govan, eight north and twenty-four south of the river Clyde.

[30] Dr. Gillan of Inchinnan.

APPENDIX A

Receipt Granted to William Park, Paisley, 3rd January, 1746, in name of Prince Charles Edward.

"*CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: To all the Inhabitants of the Town of Paisley; whereas, you have by the hands of WILLIAM PARK, merchant in Paisley, made payment to our Secretary for our use, the sum of Five Hundred pounds Sterling, which we have accepted off, as the contribution laid upon you, in respect of your raising Militia and otherwise opposing our Interest, We therefore not only Grant receipt of the foresaid sum, but hereby Grant full and ample protection to you for your Estates, Houses, Goods, Merchandises, and effects of what kind soever, from all Injuries, Violence, or insults offered or done by any person or persons whomsoever; requiring all His Majesty's Officers, Civil or Military, to see this protection inviolably observed. Given at Glasgow, the third day of January, 1746.*

"*By his Highness's Command,*

"*J. MURRAY.*"

The above receipt, written in holograph by John Goodwillie, an Edinburgh writer, and apparently signed in the large sprawling hand of Murray of Broughton, afterwards formed the central document in a lengthy law case.[1] Six years after the suppression of the Jacobite "rising," in July, 1753, the Magistrates of Paisley raised an action before the Court of Session against Murray for recovery of the town's ransom. Under the Act of Grace, Murray claimed exemption. It was pled in evidence that the signature was not in his handwriting, but "done with a cashet," as "similar to his subscription as any engraving on copper plate can be," and affixed by James Lumisden the Prince's under secretary, Murray himself that Friday morning on which the receipt was granted and the hostages set free having been confined to his chamber with a lame leg. After long debate, on 28th July, 1759, the Court by a majority gave judgment in his favour. However signed, the genuineness of the receipt itself was never called in question. William Park survived till 1762.

[1] See Semple, *Saint Mirin*, 118, and Documents at Register House, Edinburgh.

APPENDIX B

ROLL OF THE "FORTY," as appended to the original "DECLARATION."

Signed by

ROBT. M'NAIR, D.D., Paisley
* M. LEISHMAN, D.D., Govan
WILLIAM BLACK, D.D., Barony
* MATT. GARDINER, D.D., Bothwell
JOHN HENDERSON—Carmunnock
P. H. KEITH, Hamilton
ALEX. TURNER, Minr. of Gorbals
J. C. FOWLER—St. Luke's
P. MACMORLAND, St. Matthew's
R. O. BROMFIELD—Auldfield
L. LOCKHART—Inchinnan
PETER DALE—Milngavie
N. MORREN—Greenock
ROBT. STORY—Rosneath
JOHN LAURIE—Row
JOHN STEWART, Sorn
* JAMES CHRYSTAL, Auchinleck
JN. G. GRAY, Minister of Crosshill
PETER NAPIER, Minister, St. George's in the Fields
WM. PROUDFOOT of Avondale
JOHN WYLIE, Minr. of Carluke

* Afterwards Moderator of General Assembly.

HENRY DOUGLAS, Minr. of Alexandria
ALEXANDER DUNCAN, Minr. of Coylton
ALEXANDER STEWART, Min. of Elderslie
THO. BRYDSON, Minr. of Levern
DANIEL CAMERON, Minr. of Bridgegate
WM. DUNN, Minr. of Cardross
JOHN PARK of Cadder
C. B. STEVEN of Stewarton
WM. SINCLAIR of Kilmaurs
DAVID STRONG of Kilmarnock
J. PORTEOUS of Riccarton
GEORGE MUNRO of Carstairs
* Dr. JAMES BARR of Port Glasgow
JAMES BOYD, Ochiltree
ALEXANDER LOCHORE, Drymen
WATER COLVIN, Shotts
WILLIAM COLVILLE, Eaglesham
ARCHD. NISBET, Albion Parish
ROBERT CARR, Luss
JOHN JOHNSTON, Old Monkland
JOHN MURDOCH, Clarkston
ROBT. STEVENSON, Minr. of Airdrie
J. RUSSELL, D.D., Minr. of Dalserf
* ROBT. GILLAN, Minr. of Holytown
ROBT. STEVENSON, Paisley
* N. MCLEOD, Loudon.

* Afterwards Moderator of General Assembly.

APPENDIX C

The "Table Gesture" at Holy Communion.

At the Reformation it early became a distinctive principle of the Reformed Worship that the Holy Communion should be celebrated in such a manner as would best recall the Lord's Supper and the usage of the primitive Church, which "in everything down to the smallest gesture and act loved to hold to the example of Christ at the First Institution." [1] Whatever the posture of the Communicants—whether ambling[2] (*ambulans*), as at Zurich; standing, as among the Huguenots, a practice still to be seen in the crypt at Canterbury; sitting; or kneeling—the emphasis in thought seems to have rested rather on the action of *coming forward* to receive at a Table. Hence the rubric in the Anglican Office:—"The Table, at the Communion time, having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel."

The present mode of receiving at altar rails was a Laudian innovation, needful then perhaps for the sake of reverence, but unknown in England till early in the 18th century. At Perth, in 1580, we find Holy Communion celebrated by John Row, the Scots Reformer, in the Chancel, which was railed off, and the people gave their *Tokens* and Alms as they entered singing, this last being an early usage, "certainly Primitive and probably Apostolic." [3] In the Ethiopic Liturgy the rubric after consecration runs:—"Then they uplift the Hymn of Praise, and the people enter in to receive the Medicine of their Souls." The Sacred Board was in all cases covered with a white linen cloth. Our familiar Scottish *Communion Linens* are not improbably

[1] *Our Inheritance*, S. Baring Gould, 131.

[2] King James, at Hampton Court in 1603, spoke of "ambling Communion." See Barlow's *History of Conference*, 177.

[3] Sprott, *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, 135.

a survival of the pre-Reformation "houseling cloth," held by Clerks "in front of the Communicants when receiving the Sacrament, or sometimes laid upon a bench at which they knelt." [1]

A strong attempt to displace the old Scottish order of *coming forward* to receive at *one* table and in companies, in favour of *simultaneous Communion* in pews, was made among the English Independents at Westminster. This, as is well known, was warmly opposed by the Scots Commissioners. Principal Baillie writes:—"To come out of their pews to a Table, they [the English Independents] deny the necessity of it; we affirm it necessary." "We, sent from the Church of Scotland," adds Alexander Henderson, "are all of one mind on this point. We can hardly part from it—nay, I may add, we may not possibly part from it." The debate lasted many days, and, in the end, the Westminster Divines, against the will of the Scots Commissioners, left the matter an open question.

The General Assembly, however, while accepting the Westminster *Directory of Public Worship* in their Act of 1645, inserted this reservation:—"Provided always that the clause in the Directory of the Administration of the Lord's Supper which mentioneth the Communicants sitting about the Table, or at it, be *not* interpreted as if, in the judgment of this Kirk, it were indifferent and free [as among the English Independents] for any of the Communicants not to come to and receive at the Table."

The practice of receiving in pews, an innovation borrowed from English Dissent, apparently first gained a foothold at St. Andrews, whence it crept into Glasgow, imported thither, so Matthew Leishman told his son, by Chalmers.

In 1825, the General Assembly took cognizance of the matter, and after long debate condemned the practice, finding, as regards the "mode of dispensing the Lord's Supper," that—"it is the Law, and has been the immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland, to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people seated at or around a Communion Table or Tables; and they *enjoin the Presbyteries of this Church, when*

[1] Black, *Par. Ecc. Law*, 94; also Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (Alcuin Club Tracts), p. 39. At Ilton in Somerset, and several other places south of the Tweed, the "houseling cloth" is still in use.

Churches are to be built, or to be new seated, to use their best endeavours to have a suitable Table, or Tables, provided for the solemn service of the Lord's Supper." [1]

Govan Church, being built in 1826, was probably the first erected after the passage of this Act, and was constructed in accordance with its provisions. The great Church of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, dedicated in 1828, Dr. Muir being the first incumbent, had the central space similarly left free for Tables. In certain parts of Scotland the "Table Gesture" still prevails, and recent instances of its restoration are not unknown.[2] Much, indeed, might be said for the revival of this beautiful old-world custom, which in all probability is nearer to the original Institution of Christ than any corresponding Communion ceremony in Christendom.

[1] See *Act Gen. Ass.*, 23rd May, 1825. It is noteworthy that this Act, the Church's latest pronouncement on the subject, is ignored in Dr. Mair's *Digest of Church Law.*

[2] *E.g.*, the Church at Canna erected in memory of the late Mr. Thom of Barreman, also the Chapel of Hoselaw, built in 1906 as a memorial to Matthew Leishman's eldest son, Thomas, incumbent of Linton in Teviotdale. See *Scot. Ecc. Soc. Trans.*, 1909-10.

APPENDIX D

John Le Neve and the "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ."

Few relics remain of John Le Neve. Born in 1679 at King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire — birth-place, seven years later, of William Law, author of the *Serious Call*—he was inducted to Thornton-le-Moor, a small cure in Lincolnshire, within riding distance of Epworth, in January, 1721, during Wesley's first winter at Oxford. Here Le Neve spent twenty years in penury and died in obscurity. Ample leisure he must have had for study and research. At the end of the first year he records in his parish register:—"No wedding, no christening, no burial." *Nuptia nulla, Funera nulla,* is indeed a frequent entry throughout his incumbency. Hard by the Rectory rises the quaint little Norman Church, embosomed among trees. That Le Neve was a great tree lover may be gathered from an entry made on 19th February, 1721:—"This day I planted thirty ash trees round the churchyard and in the home close," known to-day as the "Parson's Meadow." The list of rectors runs back to Robert de Budliers in 1220.

Aiming at no higher character than that of "a faithful transcriber," Le Neve, in his *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* gives little more than a catalogue of names and dates. In scope the Scotican and Anglican *Fasti* materially differ. As an Episcopal writer, Le Neve confines his attention to Cathedral dignitaries, whereas Hew Scott essays the bolder and heavier task of tracing a Succession through the Presbyterate. Much of Le Neve's material came to him at second hand, while Scott drew almost invariably from original sources. In one unfortunate respect, Hew Scott and Le Neve occupied common ground. Both had

to pursue their pious task in the face of discouragement and of an apathy and neglect almost universal. Le Neve even lay as a debtor for some time in Lincoln jail, and went into *the priest's office,* at forty-four, apparently *for a piece of bread.* Hew Scott had to wait over twenty years for the living of Anstruther Wester. "Were you never tempted at the Secession to *go out?*" he was once asked. "No!" was the dry reply; "I had too much trouble to *get in.*" Le Neve died in 1741. Both his parents lie behind the organ in Westminster Abbey, but their son's burial-place is unknown. From a small silver chalice engraven—*Thornton-le-Moor Lincolnshire.* $I\frac{O}{N}$ *Le Neve Rector* "the kneeling hamlet" still drains "the grapes of God."

CORRIGENDA.

Page 47, Footnote—*for* "Jonkind" *read* "Jongkind"; *for* "1868" *read* "1908."

Page 59, line 1—*for* "beside the Church porch" *read* "near the vestry door."

Page 80, Footnote 21—*for* ";" *read* "d."

Page 138, line 20—*for* "Gardner" *read* "Gardiner."

Page 215, Note 76, line 1—*for* "Roman" *read* "16th century."

Page 242, line 16—*for* "Water" *read* "Walter."

Appendix E.—*for* "John Leishman of Cluny" *read* "Robert Leishman of Clunie."

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Author Leishman, James Fleming

Title Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle party